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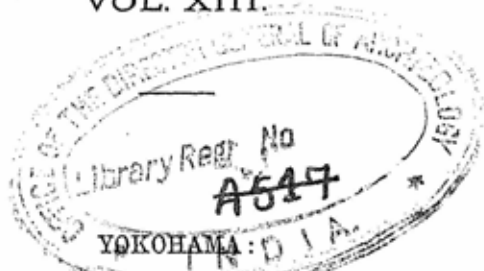
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF JAPAN.

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Y. A. S. J.

VOL. XIII.



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1885.

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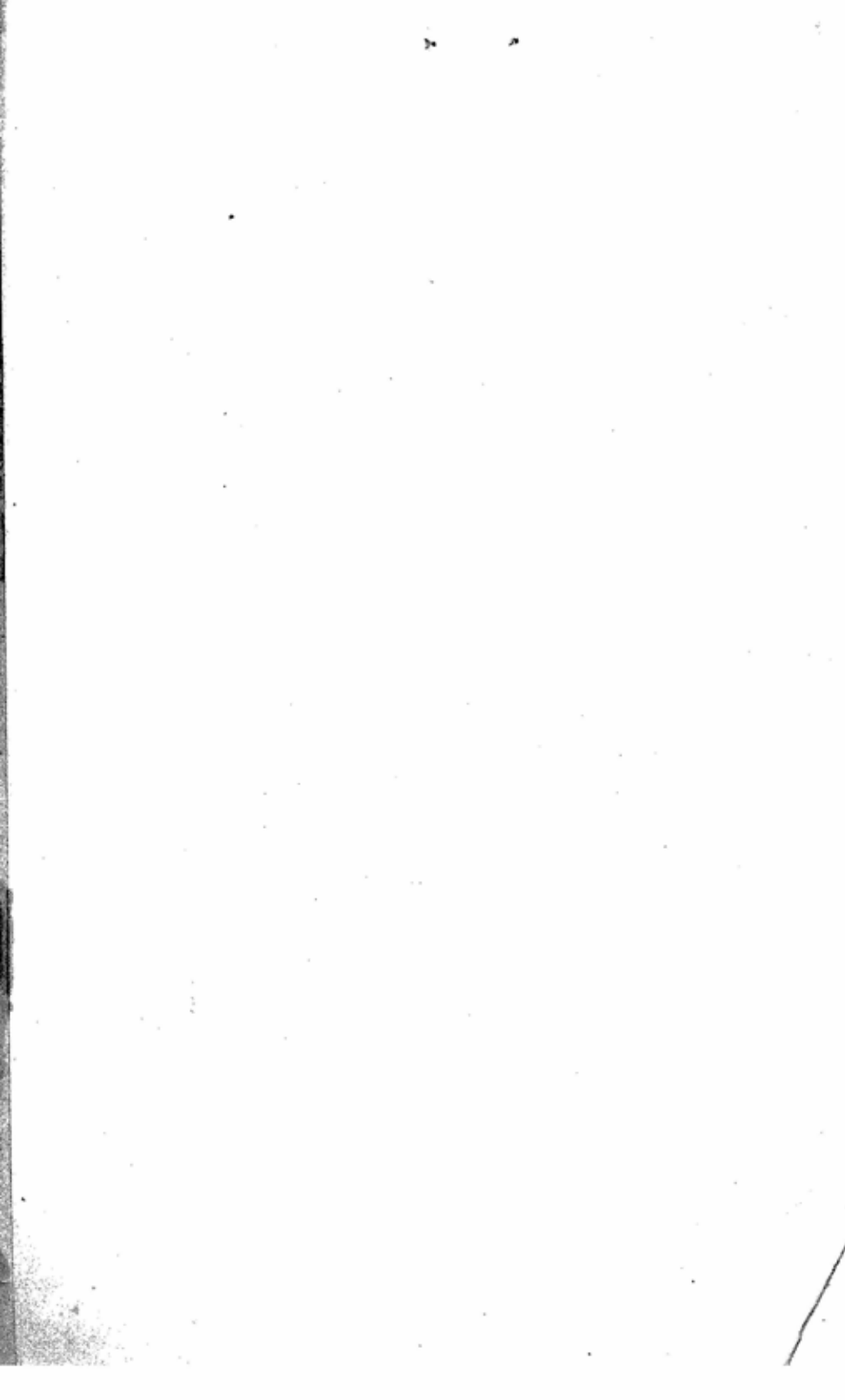
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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

YOKOHAMA, Oct. 28th, 1884.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Grand Hotel, Yokohama, on Tuesday evening, October 28th, 1884, the President in the Chair.

The Chairman, in appropriate terms, thanked the Society for the honor they had done him in electing him President.

Professor J. Milne, on the President's request, then delivered a lecture on "Earthquakes in Japan."

After an interesting discussion and the usual votes of thanks, the meeting adjourned.

Tōkyō, Nov. 19th, 1884.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Library, No. 33, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Wednesday, November 19th, 1884, the President in the chair.

The minutes of the two last meetings, having been published as usual in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the Rev. J. L. Amerman had been elected Vice-President; that Messrs. T. W. Kenny and J. Q. Hall had been elected Members of Council; and that M. Léon Metchnikoff, Switzerland, had been elected a non-resident member of the Society.

The President then called on E. M. Satow, Esq., to read his paper on the Relations between Japan and Siam in the Seventeenth Century.

After the usual votes of thanks the meeting adjourned.

Tōkyō, Jan. 14th, 1885.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the Library, No. 33, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on January 14th, 1885, B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The Corresponding Secretary intimated the election of Revs. A. Lloyd and J. P. Moore as resident members of the Society; and introduced Mr. Joseph Martin, who had been for several years travelling in Siberia, and who desired to be presented to the Society.

The Chairman, in a few fitting words, welcomed Mr. Martin, who replied briefly.

The following notices of motions, to be discussed at next General Meeting, were given:—

As an addition to Rule V.—“That non-resident members be allowed to become life-members on payment of a lump sum of Thirty Dollars, in lieu of a yearly payment of Three Dollars.”

As an amendment to Rule VIII.—“That the words ‘one black ball in five to exclude’ be inserted at the end of the first sentence; and that the words ‘and elected at the next’ be changed to ‘and balloted for at the next.’

The Chairman then called on Mr. J. M. Dixon, M. A., for his paper on “Japanese Etiquette.”

After the usual vote of thanks the meeting adjourned.

Tōkyō, Feb. 11th, 1885.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Library, No. 33, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on February 11th, 1885, the President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary intimated the election of W. C. de L. Eastlake, Esq., M. N. Wyckoff, Esq., the Revs. J. B. Brandram, and R. Whittington, and Captain Ramsay as resident members; and Henry Napier, Esq., as a non-resident member.

The motions given notice of at last meeting were then taken up and discussed. With the consent of the meeting, the first motion, proposed by Mr. Dixon and seconded by Dr. Knott, was changed to the following:—“That non-resident members will be allowed to commute their payments to the Society by the payment of a lump sum of Sixteen Dollars.” On a show of hands being taken, the motion was declared carried.

Dr. Knott, seconded by Mr. Dallas, moved the amendment to Rule VIII, which would now read:—“All Members shall be elected by the Council, one black ball in five to exclude. They shall be proposed at one meeting, and balloted for at the next; and their names shall be announced at the General Meeting following their election.” On a show of hands being taken, the motion was declared carried.

Mr. W. C. de Lano Eastlake read a paper on “The Mamushi,” and Mr. Dautremere read a paper on the “Vendetta, or Legal Revenge in Japan.”

After the usual vote of thanks the meeting adjourned.

Tōkyō, March 12th, 1885.

A General Meeting of the Society was held at the Library, No. 33, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Thursday, March 12th, at 8 p.m., the Rev. J. L. Amerman, Vice President, in the chair.

The Rev. C. S. Eby exhibited some stereopticon slides illustrative of Japanese Art, Ceramic and Pictorial. Professor Fenollosa gave a cursory sketch of the history and development of the latter.

The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the Society to Messrs. Eby and Fenollosa for the pleasure and instruction which they had given the Society.

The meeting then adjourned.

Tōkyō, March 18th, 1885.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the Library, No. 33, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, March 18th, at 4 p.m., the President in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting were read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary intimated the election of Mr. Muramatsu as a member of the Society, and mentioned that arrangements had been made for an exchange of publications with the Smithsonian Institute and the Johns Hopkins University.

In the absence of the author, the Recording Secretary for Tōkyō read a short paper by H. Pryer, Esq.—“Notes on the *Mustela Itatsi* and on the *Corvus Japonensis*, Bonaparte.”

B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., then read a paper “On the Various Styles Used in Japanese Literature.”

The meeting then adjourned.

Tōkyō, April 23rd, 1885.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the Library, No. 33, Tsukiji, Tōkyō, on Thursday, April 23rd, at 4.15 p. m., the President in the chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

The Corresponding Secretary intimated the election, as members of the Society, of His Excellency A. Davydow, the Russian Minister; the Rev. T. MacNair; and Messrs. J. Dautremer, A. Larcom, L. W. Kitchler, C. S. Hampson, and E. A. Griffiths.

Mr. Kitchler then read a paper on the “Marriage Customs of the Japanese.” The meeting then adjourned.

Tōkyō, May 20th, 1885.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at the Library, No. 33, Tsukiji, on May 20, Rev. J. L. Amerman, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

At the request of the Vice-President, Mr. F. Warrington Eastlake read his paper on "The Kirin."

After the usual vote of thanks the meeting adjourned.

Tōkyō, June 17th, 1885.

The Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society was held at the Library, No. 33, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, June 17th, 1885, the President in the Chair.

The minutes of last meeting, having been published in the *Japan Mail*, were taken as read.

In the absence of the author, the Recording Secretary for Tōkyō read a short paper by H. Pryer, Esq., on the Relation between the Lepidoptera of Great Britain and Japan.

Mr. J. M. Dixon then read a short Reply by Dr. Brauns to the criticisms passed by Mr. Milne upon his former paper on the Japanese *Karasu*.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE, 1885.

The Council of the Asiatic Society of Japan, in rendering their report of the past session, have to congratulate the members of the Society on the successful termination of another year of its existence, and on the financial condition of the Society, which from the Treasurer's report will be seen to be favourable, as a balance of \$689 stands to the credit of the Society. Of this sum, however, about two-thirds will shortly be required for the Society's printer. The literary activity of members also shows a degree of vitality that will compare favourably with that of any former year. As a proof of this the list of papers read before the Society may be referred to.

The Council regrets that owing to the extent of the paper on "Medical Progress in Japan," by Dr. W. N. Whitney, the part of the Transactions which contains it has been delayed in publication beyond the usual time, and has thus prevented the issue of the subsequent part, which contains a variety of most interesting papers that might have appeared earlier but for this circumstance. The Council feel it to be due to the members of the Society to make this explanation, and are at the same time glad to be able to promise an almost immediate issue of two parts of considerable size.

From the Librarian's report it will be seen that the Society was never more flourishing in regard to its exchanges of publications with those of learned societies in Europe, America, and the East. It is matter of regret that the valuable works contained in the library are not more utilized by members than they are; but it is hoped that, when in a few months the literary stores here offered for the use of members are presented to them in a new catalogue, which is being prepared, more readers may be found to avail themselves of these advantages, and that this may lead to the production of fresh contributions to the Transactions.

During the past session several valuable lectures have been delivered under the auspices of the Society. First, that of Professor J. Milne, on Earthquakes, delivered in Yokohama. Then a lecture was read in Tōkyō in the French language by a traveller in Siberia—M. Joseph Martin, a member of the Geographical Societies of Paris and London. An exhibition of stereopticon slides, illustrative of Japanese Art, was given by Rev. Chas. Eby, the interest in which was enhanced by a sketch of Japanese Art and Artists by Professor Fenollosa of the Tōkyō University. A list of the papers read before the Society, which are to appear in the Transactions, will be found appended.

Turning now to the losses which the Society has had to sustain during the past session, the Council regret to have to record the decease of one of the fathers of the Society—Sir Harry S. Parkes, K.C.B., etc.—whose constant sympathy and support was ungrudgingly given during the time of his presence among us. Those who know the history and career of Sir Harry in the East—in China and Japan—need not to be reminded of his indefatigable industry, his dauntless courage, and his uncommon good sense in the important offices which he at various times had the honor of filling. He did not pretend to be a *littérateur*, but as President of this Society for so many years we have to acknowledge the value of his services and the ready way in which he entered into the discussion of papers brought before the Society, and that always with a degree of tact and knowledge which generally threw new light upon the subject. The decease of Sir Harry Parkes leaves a vacant place in the list of Honorary Members. This place it is proposed to fill by the name of one whose writings have added immensely to the value of our Transactions—Mr. Ernest M. Satow, C.M.G., at present H.B. Majesty's Representative in Siam.

One other member—Captain G. E. O. Ramsay—but recently included amongst us, has also departed this life under sudden and painful circumstances.

In conclusion the Council have to report the addition of twenty new members, and the resignation of a few. The Council regret to notice the loss of the services of Mr. Chas. H. Dallas, who discharged for many years the duties of Recording Secretary in Yokohama, in consequence of his departure for China. It is much to be desired that members on leaving Japan should be encouraged to retain their interest in the Society and to keep their names on its books; with this object in

view a new rule has been adopted by which non-resident members may become life-members by compounding for their future subscriptions on a very moderate scale.

LIST OF PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DURING THE SESSION 1884-5.

A lecture on "Earthquakes," delivered in Yokohama, Oct. 27. By Professor J. Milne.

"On the Relations between Japan and Siam in the 17th Century," read in Tōkyō, Nov. 19. By E. M. Satow, Esq.

"On Japanese Etiquette," read in Tōkyō, Jan. 14. By J. M. Dixon, M.A.

"On the Mamushi," read in Tōkyō, Feb. 11. By W. C. De Lano Eastlake, Esq.

"La Vengeance Légale au Japon." By M. J. Dautremet, Esq.

A Lecture on "Siberian Travel," Feb. 27. By M. J. Martin, Esq.

"On the Various Styles used in Japanese Literature," read in Tōkyō, March 18. By B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

"On Marriage in Japan," read in Tōkyō, April 22. By L. W. Küchler, Esq.

"On the Kirin," read in Tōkyō, May 20. By F. Warrington Eastlake, Esq.

"Connection between the Lepidoptera of Great Britain and Japan." By H. Pryer, Esq.

"On the So-called 'Root' in Japanese Verbs." By B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN in account with J. M. DIXON.

1884.		Dr.	1884.	Cr.
June 17.	To Librarian, Rev. J. Summers, for current disbursements	\$32.00	June 17.	Balance from last year
June 23.	" C. H. Dallas, Yokohama, Recording Secretary, for current disbursements	5.00	June 28.	Sale of Transactions per Librarian
July 1.	" To Repayment of loan from Dr. Divers ..	20.50	June 28.	Loan from Dr. Divers (renewal)
Oct. 1.	" Hire of Commercial Hall, June meeting ..	4.00	1885.	Sale of Transactions per Treasurer
Nov. 10.	" Messrs. Boyer & Co. for Rent of Rooms ..	10.00	May 21.	Sale of Transactions per Messrs. Trübner ..
Nov. 25.	" Manager <i>Japan Mail</i> for post cards	5.00	June 1.	Sale of Transactions per R. Meiklejohn & Co. 127.10
1885.				Sale of Transactions per Librarian
Jan. 20.	" Manager <i>Japan Mail</i> for post cards	5.00		Subscriptions, Resident Members:—
Feb. 18.	" R. Meiklejohn & Co. for printing Vol. XII, pt. I.	266.31		3 for 1882 at \$5
April 23.	" R. Meiklejohn & Co. for reprinting Vol. III pt. II.	196.28		5 for 1883 at \$5
	" R. Meiklejohn & Co. for mailing, postage, stationery, etc.	59.09		41 for 1884 at \$5
May 11.	" Manager <i>Japan Mail</i> for post cards	9.50		66 for 1885 at \$5
May 18.	" R. Meiklejohn & Co. for printing Vol. XII, pt. 2	195.44		Non-Resident Members:—
	" R. Meiklejohn & Co. for printing Vol. XII, pt. 3	173.33		1 for 1880 at \$3
June 1.	" Treasurer's current disbursements	6.32		2 for 1881 at \$3
	" Corresponding Secretary's current disbursements June-December	10.64		4 for 1882 at \$3
	" do. do. January-June	12.50		11 for 1883 at \$3
	" Rent of Rooms and use of Godown, 33 Tenkiji, for one year	100.00		11 for 1884 at \$3
	" Dr. Knott, Recording Secretary, Tokyo, for current disbursements	3.16		6 for 1885 at \$3
June 5.	" Balance in hand	552.38		10 Entrance fees at \$5
	" Balance in O. B. C. not liquidated	86.64		4 Life Subscriptions at \$16
	Total	\$1,755.09		Total
				\$1,755.09

W. N. WHITNEY, } Auditors.
THOMAS LINDSAY, }

These Reports were adopted by the meeting.

The Election of Officers for the ensuing session was then proceeded with, with the following result:

President:—N. J. Hannen, Esq.

Vice-Presidents:—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., and Rev. J. L. Amerman.

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian:—Rev. J. Summers.

Recording Secretaries:—For Tōkyō, Dr. C. G. Knott; for Yokohama, T. W. Hellyer, Esq.

Treasurer:—J. M. Dixon, Esq.

COUNCILLORS.

E. Divers, M. D., F.R.S.

F. W. Eastlake, Esq.

J. C. Hall, Esq.

J. C. Hepburn, M.D., LL.D.

N. Kanda Esq.

W. J. Kenny, Esq.

Rev. D. MacDonald, M.D.

Rev. E. B. Miller.

J. Milne, Esq.

T. Walsh, Esq.

The meeting then adjourned.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

LIST OF BOOKS PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY.

Tesis leida en el Examen Profesional de Ingeniero Geógrafo en la escuela nacional de Ingenieros por Joaquin de Mendizabal Tamborrel. By the author.

Japanische Sagen u. Märchen, by Dr. Brauns, Halle. By the author.

Alt-japanische Frühlingslieder aus der Kokin Waka-shu von Dr. R. Lange. By the author.

Anales estadísticos de la Republica de Guatemala, año de 1883. By the Government of Guatemala.

Informe dirigido al Señor Secretario de Fomento sobre los trabajos practicados, año de 1884. By the Government of Guatemala.

American Journal of Mathematics; Vol. VII, No. 1. By the Johns Hopkins University.

Annuaire de la Société d'Ethnographie. By the Society.

Annuaire de l'Athénée Oriental. By the Society.

EXCHANGES.

Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.

Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, Journal.

American Geographical Society, New York; Bulletin and Journal.

American Oriental Society; Proceedings and Journal.

American Philological Society.

Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Asiatic Society of Bengal; Journal and Proceedings.

- Bataviaasch Genootschap; Notulen.
Bataviaasch Genootschap; Tijdschrift.
Bataviaasch Genootschap; Verhandelingen.
Boston Society of Natural History.
California Academy of Sciences; Bulletin.
China Review; Hongkong.
Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal; Shanghai.
Cosmos; di Guido Cora, Turin.
Geological Survey of India; Records.
Harvard University Museum of Comparative Zoology; Bulletin.
Imperial Russian Geographical Society; Bulletin.
Imperial Russian Society of the Friends of Natural Sciences, Anthropology and
Ethnology of Moscow.
Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama.
Johns Hopkins University, Publications; Baltimore.
Kaiserliche Leopoldinische Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher;
Verhandlungen.
Medical Society of Tennessee; Transactions, 1882.
Mittheilungen des Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens.
Musée Guimet, Lyons, Annales, et Revue, etc.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, Philadelphia.
Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.
Observatoire de Zi-ka-wei; Bulletin des Observations.
Roman Urdu Journal.
Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain; Journal, etc.
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch; Journal.
Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch; Journal and Proceedings.
Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch; Journal.
Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch; Journal.
Royal Geographical Society; Proceedings.
Royal Society; Proceedings.
Royal Society of Tasmania.
Seismological Society of Japan; Transactions.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Reports.
Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology.
Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid; Boletín.
Société Academique Indo-Chinoise.
Société de Géographie de Paris; Bulletin et Compte Rendu des Séances.
Société de Géographie, Commerciale de Havre; Bulletin.
Société de Géographie de Rochfort.
Société Asiatique de Paris; Journal.
U. S. A. Signal Service Weather Reports; Daily Bulletin.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Admiral Sir C. Shadwell, K. C. B.
Rear-Admiral W. Arthur, c/o Messrs. Hallett & Co., Trafalgar Square, London.
Sir Rutherford Alcock, K. C. B.
Sir Thomas F. Wade, K. C. B.
Professor Geo. E. Day, U. S. A.
Professor W. D. Whitney, U. S. A.
Hon. Geo. P. Marsh, Rome.
A. W. Franks, British Museum.
Professor J. J. Rein, Marburg, Germany.
Baron A. Nordenskjöld, Stockholm.
Rev. E. W. Syle, D. D., Philadelphia, U. S. A.
Rev. Joseph Edkins, D. D., Peking.
H.E. Ernest M. Satow, C.M.G., Bangkok, Siam.

Amerman, C. H., New York City, U. S. A.
Amerman, Rev. Jas. L., 19 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Anderson, Dr. W., St. Thomas' Hospital, London.
Andrews, Rev. Walter, Church Missionary Society, Hakodate.
Aston, W. G., H. B. M.'s Consul-General, Sōul, Korea.
Atkinson, R. W., B. Sc., Cardiff, Wales.
Audsley, G. A., London.
Bachelor, J., Church Missionary Society, Hakodate.
Ballagh, J. C., 6 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Bigelow, Dr. W. S., 20 Suzuki cho, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
Bingham, Hon. J. A., U. S. Minister, Tōkyō.
Bishop, Rev. C., 15 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Blanchet, Rev. C. T., 38 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Bonar, H., H. B. M.'s Consulate, Hyōgo.
Bowes, James Lord, London.
Brandram, Rev. J. B., Nagasaki.
Brauns, Dr. D., Halle University, Germany.
Brinkley, Capt. Frank, n. a., 22 Iida machi, Tōkyō.
Brooke, J. H., 28 Yokohama.
Brown, A. R., Marine Board, Tōkyō.
Brown, Matthew, Jr., 6 Yokohama.

- Burty, Ph., 11 bis, Boulevard des Batignolles, Paris.
 Center, Alex., 4-A Yokohama.
 Chamberlain, B. H., Naval College, Tōkyō.
 Cocking, S., Jr., 55 Yokohama.
 Conder, J., Government Architect, Tōkyō.
 Cooper, C. J., B. A., LL. B., Bromwich Grange, Worcester, England.
 Coughtrie, J. B., Hongkong.
 Cox, W. Douglas, University of Tōkyō.
 Cutler, Thos., Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, London.
 Cruickshank, W. J., 85 Yokohama.
 Dallas, C. H., Shanghai.
 Davydow, H.E. A., Russian Minister, Tōkyō.
 Dautremere, J., French Legation, Tōkyō.
 Davisson, Rev. W. E., 221 Bluff, Yokohama.
 Dening, Walter, 18 Suzuki cho, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
 Dickins, F. V., University of London, Burlington House, London.
 Dillon, E., London.
 Divers, Edward, M.D., F.R.S., Imperial College of Engineering, Tōkyō.
 Dixon, James Main, M. A., F.R.S.E., Imperial College of Engineering, Tōkyō.
 Dixon, Rev. William Gray, M.A., Melbourne, Australia.
 Du Bois, Dr. Francis, 82 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Duer, Yeend, Shanghai.
 Eastlake, F. Warrington, 11 Ichibancho, Tōkyō.
 Eastlake, W. C. de Lano, 11 Ichibancho, Tōkyō.
 Eaton, Isaac, 3 Yokohama.
 Eby, Rev. C. S., 5 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Ewing, J. A., B. Sc., University College, Dundee, Scotland.
 Favre-Brandt, J., 145 Bluff, Yokohama.
 Farley, G., Jr., 143 Yokohama.
 Faulds, Henry, L. R. C. P. S., Tsukiji Hospital, Tōkyō.
 Flowers, Marcus, New Club, Cheltenham, England.
 Fraser, J. A., 143 Yokohama.
 Gardiner, J. McD., Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Gay, A. O., 2 Yokohama.
 Glover, T. B., 53 Shiba Sannai, Tōkyō.
 Gowland, W., Mint, Ōsaka.
 Green, James, 118 Concession, Hyōgo.
 Greene, Rev. Dr. D. C., A. B. C. F. Mission, Kyōto.
 Gregory, G. E. Telegraph Department, Tōkyō.
 Greville, Hon. Louis, Foreign office, London.
 Gribble, Henry, 22 Yokohama.
 Griffiths, E. A., H. B. M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.

- Gring, Rev. Ambrose D., 28 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Groom, A. H., 35 Yokohama.
 Gubbins, J. H., H. B. M.'s Consulate, Tōkyō.
 Hall, J. C., H. B. M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.
 Hampson, C. S., H. B. M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.
 Hannen, N. J., Judge, H.B.M.'s Court for Japan.
 Hare, A. J., Commercial School, Tōkyō.
 Hartzler, Rev. Jacob, 44 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Hattori Ichizo, University of Tōkyō.
 Hellyer, T. W., 32 Yokohama.
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 Irwin, R. W., 5 Kiridoshi, Sakaye-cho, Shiba, Tōkyō.
 James, F. S., 142 Yokohama.
 James, Capt. J. M., 416 Minami Bamba, Shinagawa, Tōkyō.
 Jaudon, Peyton, 2 Saunen-cho, Tōkyō.
 Jones, Gen. A. C., U. S. Consul, Nagasaki.
 Johore, Maharajah of, Singapore.
 Kanda, Naibu, University of Tōkyō.
 Keil, O., 60 Yokohama.
 Kenny, W., H. B. M.'s Consulate, Yokohama.
 Kinch, Edward, Agricultural College, Cirencester, England.
 Kingdon, N. P., 193 Yokohama.
 Kirkwood, Montague, Yokohama.
 Knipping, E., Observatory, Tōkyō.
 Knott, Cargill G., D.Sc., F.R.S.E., University of Tōkyō.
 Knox, Rev. G. W., 27 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Korschelt, Otto.
 Kütchler, L. W., H. B. M.'s Consulate, Yokohama.
 Lareom, A., H. B. M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.
 Large, Rev. J., Azabu, Tōkyō.
 Lindsay, Rev. Thomas, 41 Imaicho Azabu, Tōkyō.
 Lloyd, Rev. A., 4, Azabu Shinburi Tōkyō.
 Longford, J. H., H.B.M.'s Vice-Consul, Tōkyō.
 Lowell, Percival, Harvard University, U. S. A.
 Lyman, Benjamin Smith, Northampton, Massachusetts, U. S. A.
 Macdonald, Dr. Davidson, 5 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 MacLagan, Robert, Mint, Ōsaka.
 Macnab, A. J., Nishi-Kobai-cho, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
 MacNair, Rev. T. M., 14 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Malan, Rev. C. S., Broadwindsor, Dorset, England.

- Marshall, Prof. D. H., Queen's College, Kingston, Canada.
Masfen, L., New Oriental Bank Corporation, 11 Yokohama,
Maundrell, Rev. H., Church Missionary Society, Nagasaki.
McCartee, D. B., M.D., 79 Chambers St., New York City, U. S. A.
McCanley, Rev. James, 6 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
McClatchie, T. R. H., H.B.M.'s Consulate, Yokohama.
Meacham, Rev. G. M., Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Middleton, John, 22 Yokohama.
Miller, Rev. E. Rothesay, 29 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Milne, A., 2 Yokohama.
Milne, John, F.G.S., Imperial College of Engineering, Tōkyō.
Moberly, E. G., Chartered Bank of India, China and Australia, 78 Yokohama.
Mollison, J. P., 48 Yokohama.
Morse, W. H., 178 Yokohama.
Moore, Rev. J. P., 50 Kami Nibancho, Tōkyō.
Mori Arinori, H. E., Educational Department, Tōkyō.
Muramatsu, Y., Tōkyō.
Murray, David, LL.D., Albany, New York, U. S. A.
Nakamura, M., Tōkyō.
Naumann, Dr. Edward, Yamato Yashiki, Tōkyō.
Napier, H. M., Glasgow, Scotland.
O'Neill, John, Cognac, France.
Plunkett, Hon. F. R., H.B.M.'s Minister, Tōkyō.
Pole, Rev. G. H., 9 Concession, Ōsaka.
Pryer, H., 78 Yokohama.
Quin, J. J., H.B.M.'s Consul, Hakodate.
Robertson, Russell, H.B.M.'s Consul, Yokohama.
Sanjo, K., Sannencho, Tōkyō.
Shand, W. J. S., 75 Yokohama.
Shaw, Rev. A. C., 13 Roku-chome Iigura, Tōkyō.
Smith, R. B., 178 Yokohama.
Soper, Rev. Julius, 221 Bluff, Yokohama.
Spencer, Rev. J. O., Aoyama, Tōkyō.
Spencer, Rev. D. S., Aoyama, Tōkyō.
Stone, W. H., 11 Yamato Yashiki, Tōkyō.
Summers, Rev. James, 33 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Takagi, Dr., Tōkyō.
Talbot, W. H., 70 Yokohama.
Thomas, T., 49 Yokohama.
Thompson, A. W., 10 Odawara-cho, Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Thomson, John A., 77-A Yokohama.
Thompson, Lady Mary, Cliff End House, Scarborough, England.

- Trench, Hon. P. le Poer, H.B.M.'s Legation, Tōkyō.
Troup, James, H.B.M.'s Consul, Kobe.
Tsuda Sen, Azabu Shinbōri, Tōkyō.
Vail, Rev. Milton S., Aoyama, Tōkyō.
Van der Pot, H.E. J. J., Netherlands Minister, 244 Bluff, Yokohama.
Waddell, Rev. Hugh, Scotch Presbyterian Mission, Tōkyō.
Wagener, Dr. G. V., 1 Yamato Yashiki, Tōkyō.
Walsh, T., 2 Yokohama.
Walter, W. B., 1 Yokohama.
Warren, Rev. C. F., 3 Concession, Ōsaka.
Watson, E. B., 46 Yokohama.
West, Charles Dickinson, M.A., C.E., Imperial College of Engineering, Tōkyō.
Wheeler, Dr. Edwin, 97 Bluff, Yokohama.
Whitney, Dr. Willis Norton, U. S. Legation, Tōkyō.
White, Rev. W. J., 41 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
Whittington, Rev. Robert, Torizaka, Azabu, Tōkyō.
Wilson, Horace, Mechanics Institute, San Francisco.
Wilson, J. A., Hakodate.
Winstanley, A., 50 Yokohama.
Woolley, W. A., H.B.M.'s Consular Service, Japan.
Wright, Rev. Wm. Ball, Dublin, Ireland.
Wyckoff, M. N., 18 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.

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JAPANESE ETIQUETTE.

By J. M. DIXON, M. A.

[Read January 14, 1885.]

PREFATORY REMARKS.

This paper does not profess to give an exhaustive or very accurate treatment of the subject, but merely to bring together in a systematised and readable form facts which have been gathered, and which may be of interest to general readers. The writer is therefore prepared to receive numerous corrections, and to have much additional information offered.

Japanese etiquette is rapidly giving way before the powerful thawing influence of western customs. Its old bloom is gone beyond recall; for modern Japan is too busy over more important matters to busy itself with the minutiae of *cha-no-yu* and other ceremonies. The conditions of life, too, have changed, and even if the people would, they could not keep alive the elaborate Ogasawara rules of polite conduct.

It is to be noted that the Ogasawara style of etiquette, the most popular in Japan, took its rise in the court of the Shogun Yoshimitsu at Kiyoto, in the latter half of the 14th century. The elegance and culture of the empire, therefore, perhaps its most striking features to the outer world, seem associated with the rule of the Shoguns. Tradition indeed ascribes the origin of Japanese social etiquette to the Emperor Kotoku, thirty-seventh from Jimmu, who reigned between 645 and 650 A. D. He is said to have published an edict, enforcing a certain body of rules. After him Shinra Saburo Yoshimitsu, brother of the famous Hachimantaro Yoshiie, and ancestor of the Ogasawara family,

revised and arranged these rules after an exact method. But the tedious and bloody wars between the Minamoto and Taira factions ensued, and overturned the whole social system. To Ogasawara Shinano-no-kami Sadamune, who lived in the earlier half of the 14th century, was entrusted the re-arrangement of the social code of manners. This Ogasawara was the best archer of his time, and on one occasion he so delighted the Emperor Godaigo with his skill that he was granted the *shoden*, or right to enter the imperial palace, and was subsequently appointed teacher of etiquette at the court. His grandson, Ogasawara Hio-gonosuke Nagahide, a vassal of the Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, was ordered by his master to draw up a complete set of regulations on the subject of etiquette. His works remain to this day the standard authorities on the subject. Only now, in this period of Meiji, have the rules set down by him ceased to be strictly observed.

A work called "New Japanese Etiquette" was published five years ago by Ogasawara Kiyomoto and Midzuno Tadawo, of the Tokio Normal School, and from this work much of the information given in the paper is taken.

Throughout the whole system of Japanese etiquette it will be noted what scant respect is paid to ladies. The etiquette given is from the man's standpoint.

INTRODUCTIONS.

Friends or acquaintances may not be introduced to one another unless it is known that the introduction will be agreeable to both parties. Suppose two persons, however, are of the same rank and social position, it is proper to accede to the request of one of them to be introduced, without previously asking the permission of the other. It is not in good form to introduce a person of lower rank to one of higher rank without receiving the express permission of the latter, but a request from one of higher rank to be presented to one of lower rank must be complied with instantly.

SALUTATIONS.

If a Japanese meets an acquaintance on the street, he will step six or seven paces to the right, place his hands on his knees,

and bow respectfully, inclining his body at an angle of 45°. In passing on he will step out with the right foot. For a friend of about the same age it is sufficient to salute at a distance of three paces. This stiff form of salutation has of late been superseded in large towns by the more convenient foreign custom of simply lifting the hat or nodding. A Japanese does not consider it polite to make a salutation on the street without first removing any wrapping he may have about his neck.

On entering a friend's house he will place both hands on the mat, with the thumbs and index fingers touching each other, and kneeling with the back not too high, bow respectfully and ask after the health of the other and of his family. It is polite to bow repeatedly ; in cases where the acquaintanceship is slight, the bow is made without speaking. In talking with an old man higher in rank, with parents or with teachers, a young man will not sit erect, but bending forward, will rest his hands on the mats.

VISITING AND RECEIVING VISITORS.

A visitor will first hand his card to the man at the entrance (*genkan*). When admitted he will make an obeisance first at the *shikii*, the grooved beam on which the *shoji* (screens) slide, and when the host asks him to enter he will repeat the bow inside the room. On retiring he will rise up, and when outside the *shikii*, bow again and then leave the house. The duty of the host on such an occasion is merely to open and shut the *shoji*, which he must do kneeling, and never when standing. If, however, the host wishes to pay special honour to his guest, he will go out to meet him at the *shikidai* (stone pavement at the main entrance of the house), and leading him into the room, will kneel down before the *shikii* and bid him welcome ; then when they enter the room he will offer the more honourable seat to his guest and take the lower one himself. When his guest takes leave, he will conduct him to the *shikidai* and bid him farewell there, taking care not to go inside until he is out of sight.

The servants of the house, meanwhile, will have put the visitor's clogs in a convenient position for him to slip his toes

into when he goes away, and will be ready to hand him his rain coat and umbrella. If the visitor has arrived in *jinrikisha* or carriage, tea and a tobacco stove should be provided for the men, and if need be, refreshments. If the visitor waits to any meal, the men who have brought him will expect some food.

In feudal times the *samurai* when visiting acquaintances left his sword (*taito*) in a small room at the entrance, where stood a sword-stand for the purpose, and took with him into the room only the *wakizashi* (short sword) or the *tanto* (pocket-sword), which he wore in his girdle. On entering the room and sitting down, he placed the sword at his left side. But when he was desirous of showing special respect to his host, he would place the sword at his right side, where it was less convenient for him to seize and draw, if a sudden alarm should be given.

The rules for calling differ slightly in various parts of the country. In most places when a Japanese visits a friend or relative with whom he is not very intimate, he will take a present with him. If there are young children, he will not fail to remember them and bring some small present. In visiting a man of high rank, he will go provided with a calling card, on which his address is written.

When he enters the friend's house he will take his seat humbly at the entrance to the room until the master of the house prevails on him to come forward. He will refuse repeatedly to yield to the host's solicitations, saying,— 'This is quite sufficient, thank you; please do not mind!' This deprecating manner is known as *kenson*, and is very highly praised by ancient Chinese philosophers. By them it is reckoned among the most valuable of the virtues. One who behaves in this humble and decorous fashion is looked upon in Japan as a *kun-shi* or gentlemen.

Conversation is commenced by the visitor asking pardon for having neglected to visit the host for so long a time. He then expresses his gratification at the continued health and happiness of his friend, and his friend's family. Then taking out the presents he has brought, 'Here is a trifle,' he will say, 'that I hope you will deign to accept,' and bow during the intervals between speaking. Meanwhile the host will have offered tea, cake, and

smoking materials. It is in good form not to touch the refreshments immediately after they are offered, but to wait a little.

When a servant or a friend of humble position pays a visit at a house, he will make a bow outside the *shikii*, and the host will in return bow slightly, placing his hands on the mat; when the visitor enters the room to repeat his bow, the host will nod and have the finger-tips of both hands touching the mat.

It is to be observed that the seat of honour in a room is in front of the *toko* or raised shelf which forms the floor of the niche where *kakemono* (pictures) are hung; the lowest seat is that furthest from the *toko*.

ETIQUETTE OF THE STREET.

Young people when out walking with their parents, with their elder brother or elder sister, must follow behind, at a distance of one or two paces. When a lady goes out with her husband, she must follow some paces behind, and not converse much on the road; she must act *Enid* to her Geraint. When one is walking with a man of higher rank, he is expected to follow a little behind.

In walking on the street, or through the passages of a house, a Japanese prefers to keep to the left side. Formerly when swords were worn, to pass to the right of another was to incur the danger of striking him with the sword. The rule to keep to the left became a universal one, and applies now to *jinrikisha* on the common way.

TREATMENT OF SERVANTS.

The servants of a household should be treated with kindness and courtesy. When a servant is taken into a household it is usual, especially with trades-people, to employ some abbreviation or short name by which he or she is known in all domestic relations; e.g. *Uyeda Tojiu* would be called *To*. The servants of another should be treated with great respect, and be addressed in a formal manner differing entirely from that observed towards one's own servants.

It is very ill-bred to reprove a servant before company, whatever the offence be. If intimate friends are present, servants should be corrected only when it is absolutely necessary, and then in the fewest possible words. Servants should not be allowed to converse with one another in the presence of guests, as this has an unpleasant effect.

DRESS.

In the matter of dress, servants should be made to appear clean and tidy, but expensive clothes are out of keeping.

A Japanese gentleman on particular occasions is accustomed to wear a coat of black cloth, with his *mon* or crest on the back between the shoulders, and a pair of *hakama* (loose trousers) of some striped pattern. The *tabi* or socks are of white or deep blue; the *obi* (girdle) and *shitagi* (under-garment) may be of any colour or pattern.

The long robe varies with the season. According to the original rigid etiquette, a double-lined garment was worn from April 1st to May 15th; a robe of *katabira*, a thin cloth made of flax, was worn from May 15th to Aug. 31st; from Sept. 1st to Sept. 8th, again the double-lined garment; while from Sept. 9th till March 31st a padded garment, double-lined, called *wataire*, was worn. A thin cotton cloth known as *hitoye-mono* was not originally looked upon as suitable for full dress, but is now commonly worn in the summer time.

The *yukata*, properly a garment worn after leaving the bath, should not be put on before six in the evening.

The rules for dress are by no means strictly adhered to nowadays.

GENERAL HINTS.

If any one wishes to smoke in the company of others, he will first make a bow, signifying 'By your leave,' to the rest of the company. If one would blow his nose, it is better to retire to the next room to do so; but if this is impossible, let him turn aside towards the lowest seat. After receiving permission to smoke from one of higher rank, it is polite to do so in the direction of the lowest seat.

Among young people and relatives, the second or personal name is employed, except in public places, where all persons are addressed by their family names, except in the case of members of the same family. Never pay money to an acquaintance except under cover—a most binding rule.

PRESENTS.

In visiting an acquaintance whom he has seen only at intervals, a Japanese, as remarked before, will go with a present in his hands. The present consists of tea, cakes, candles, or some of the products of his native district. It should always be wrapped in paper, and be tied round the middle with a string called *midzu-hiki*, coloured white and red. A small spear-headed piece of paper, known as *no-shi*, is affixed to the the right-hand corner of the wrapping. The characters *so-hin* (trifles) are written on the upper half, and the name of the giver on the lower half when a friend or relative leaves home on a journey or to reside in a distant place, it is right to offer him a present. This present is called *hana-muke* or *sen-betsu*, and generally consists of money or of articles which may be of use to the friend in his travels or in his future place of residence. But presents in money are apt to give offence, as they are usually made only to inferiors; great care must be taken, therefore, in offering money.

When a man is suffering from severe illness, his friends are expected to visit him and offer some present, say fruit, game, eggs or other eatables. Should the patient not recover, his friends again visit his house, taking a present of candles, rice, or vegetables to assist in defraying the funeral expenses. This present is called *koden* or *kubutsu*, and is tied with a *midzu-hiki* of mauve colour, in some cases of black and white. When a child is born, friends also bring presents.

When a man builds a house, his friends make him presents known as *fushin-mimai*.

In addition to the above, near relatives and intimate friends exchange presents at the following seasons :—

On New Year's Day—*Toshi-dama*, i.e. Gift of the New Year.

In June or July—*Shochiu Mimai*, i.e. Present of the hot Season.

At the end of the year—*Seibo*, i.e. Present at the end of the Year.

In September. During this month there is a funeral festival in memory of the departed, and the descendants of a common ancestor make presents to each other, which serve as offerings to his memory.

Every householder must be careful that the periodical presents are not neglected, as they play an essential part in the social intercourse of Japan.

DINNERS.

Formal invitations to a dinner party are generally sent a few days before, but often only on the morning of the day. At present it has become customary in ordinary society to arrive at the house from half an hour to an hour later than the time named. The usual hours at which a feast is given are 4 in the afternoon and 6 or 7 in the evening.

The guest on arrival will bow first to the host and then to the rest of the company who may have assembled. The host will order dinner when he sees fit, even though the whole of the guests have not arrived. When ladies are invited, their seats are placed in one corner of the room. Sometimes the ladies of the family do not appear, but eat afterwards of the feast in private.

The mats for the guests to sit upon are arranged round the room, the host's mat being at the lower end farthest from the *toko*. To each guest is then brought a *hon-zen*, or little lacquered table, on which the food is placed; a supplementary table, called *ni-no-zen*, is also brought, and sometimes a third one, known as *san-no-zen*. The dishes in most common use are the following:—*Meshi* or *go-han*, boiled (or rather steamed) rice.

Shiru, soup made of *miso*, or fermented bean preserve, and generally containing some solid edible substance.

(a) *Suimono*, soup containing vegetables, and often a piece of fish or fowl.

(a) *Nizakana*, boiled fish.

Fig. 2.

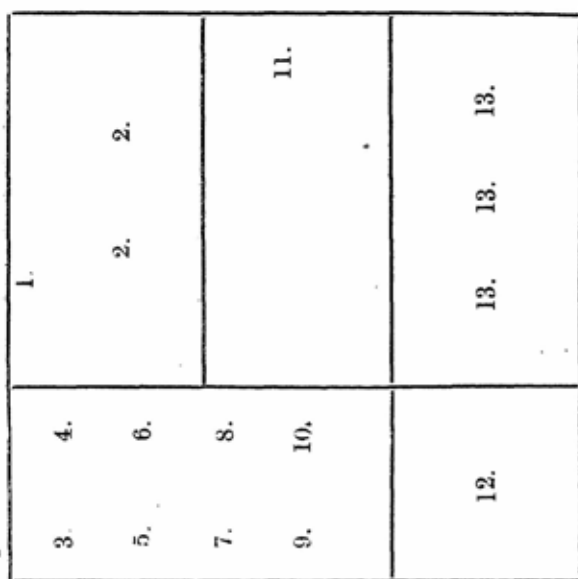


Fig. 1.

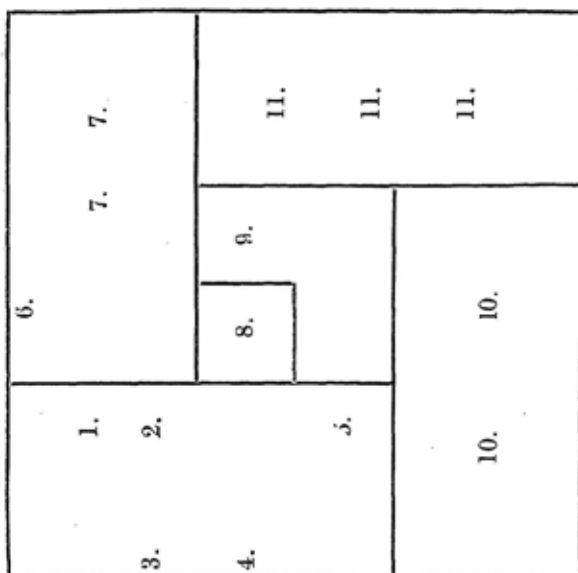
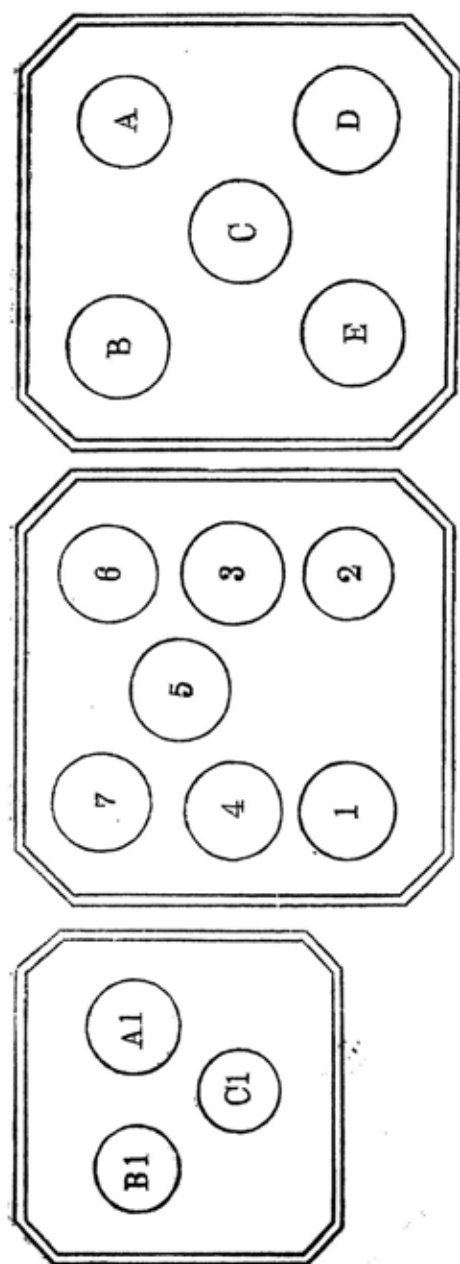


FIG. 1.—1, Water; 2, Tea-canister; 3, Tea-cup; 4, Host's Entrance; 5, Host's Seat; 6, Entrance; 7, 7, Inferiors' Seats; 8, Kettle; 9, Hearth; 10, 10, Superiors' Seats; 11, 11, 11, Guests' Seats.

FIG. 2.—1, Entrance; 2, 2, Inferiors' Seats; 3, Stove; 4, Water; 5, Tea-ladle; 6, Cup; 7, Strainer; 8, Canister; 9, Host's Entrance; 10, Host's Seat; 11, Guests' Seats; 12, Superiors' Seats; 13, 13, 13, Guests' Seats.





"Japanese Etiquette."

1, Rice; 2, Soup; 3, Roasted Fish; 4, Roasted Bird; 5, Vegetable Stew; 6, Raw Fish dipped in vinegar, 7, Boiled Meats.

A, Raw Fish in Slices; B, Fowl; C, Kurage (a kind of medusa); D, Carp Soup; E, Soup.

A 1, Roasted Shell-fish; B 1, Lobster; C 1, *T'ai* (fish) Soup.

G signifies guest, who sits in front of the largest *zen*.



- (a) *Yakizakana*, roasted fish.

Nishime, a mess of boiled vegetables.¹

Tsukemono, the preserved roots or leaves of certain vegetables.

- (a) *Sashimi*, raw sliced fish taken with *shoyu* and *shoga*.

- (a) *Kuchitori*, boiled fish pounded into a cake with vegetables.

One must be careful not to offend by transgressing the etiquette of the Japanese feast. At ordinary meals it is usual to commence with the boiled rice. Take up the chopsticks in the right hand and holding them after the approved fashion, remove the lid of the rice-bowl, transfer it to the left hand, and place it to the left of the table. Then turning to the *shiru*, remove the lid of the bowl, and place it on the lid of the rice bowl. This done, take up the rice bowl with the right hand, transfer it to the left, and eat two mouthfuls; then drink once from the *shiru* bowl. So with the other dishes, in no case omitting to take rice between each mouthful of soup, meat, fish, or vegetable.

But at special entertainments no rice is eaten until far on in the feast. The *sake* cup goes round from the commencement, and the first dishes attacked are those marked (a) in the list.

With soups, it is proper to drink the liquid first and then eat the solid contents of the bowl. Only the upper part of a large boiled fish like the *tai* will be eaten, the lower side being left untouched.

The following breaches of good table manners are to be avoided :—

Hashi-namari, hesitation whether to drink *suimono*, or to eat *namasu* (raw vegetables) or something else.

Utsuri-bashi, after eating *yakimono* or the like, to commence on something else without returning to the rice.

Mogi-kui, the removal with the mouth of rice sticking to the chopsticks.

Neburi-bashi, licking the chopsticks with the tongue.

Komi-bashi, forcing serval things into the mouth with the chopsticks.

¹ This dish seldom appears at a formal entertainment.

Saguri-bashi, searching with the chopsticks to see if anything remains in the dish.

Sora-bashi, putting back with the chopsticks some food you intended to eat.

Uke-sui, drinking *shiru* immediately on receiving the bowl without first placing it on the *zen*.

It is considered vulgar to make a noise while eating, and to form the rice into a ball before lifting it with the chopsticks. It is also considered vulgar to leave the circular mark of the teeth in a piece of cake that one is eating. Pick up the cake with the chopsticks, put it in a piece of paper, and break it as bread is eaten at a European dinner. It is usual to divide it into two pieces, and to eat the right piece first. A guest should have sheets of paper with him for this purpose.

If a guest is asked to drink *sake* (rice spirit) by the host or by some other guest, he may show his unwillingness by certain motions. When the waitress comes to fill his cup, let him hold it with his right hand, and make as if he wished to cover it with his left hand, at the same time looking in the girl's face. This is a sign of refusal : otherwise the girl will fill the cup. At Japanese dinners it is usual to provide a wine-cup for each guest, but several wine-cups go the round, and are dipped, each time they are drained, in a bowl of tepid water. The receiving and returning of wine-cups is looked upon as a sign of good fellowship. If offered a wine-cup, the guest will take it in both hands, and turning towards a waitress, ask for some *sake*. After drinking the *sake* he will dip the cup in the water-bowl, and hand it back politely to the person who presented it. An introduction at a feast is always followed by this exchange of civilities. When the *sake* has gone round frequently, the fun is apt to wax fast and furious, and noisy singing and dancing are indulged in. Ladies present are expected to retire when this begins.

CHA-NO-YU, OR TEA DRINKING.

About the time of Yoshimasa, eighth of the Ashikaga Shoguns, there lived in Kiyoto a priest named Kiu-shiu, rector of the Sho-mei temple. He had a room set apart for tea-drinking, and

here he entertained his guests after the ancient style, which he had taken pains to learn from old people who still remembered it. Ashikaga Yoshimasa appointed him *Sosho* (master) of *Cha-no-yu* etiquette at his court, and by order of the Shogun he instituted new regulations, called *Daishi-no-cha-no-yu*, for the drinking of tea.

The room set apart for tea-drinking is nine feet square, and may be arranged after two fashions, as shown in the diagrams.

Formal tea-parties usually meet at noon, and the ceremony observed at parties called for that hour is more elaborate than at other times. For a Japanese tea-party a mere room is not enough : the room must be situated in a pleasant garden, and the expectant host will have this in good order for the arrival of his guests. The paving-stones will be bright and clean, the trees and flowers newly watered. The interior, too, will be arranged so as to be in keeping with the season, and only those *kakemono* will appear which are of a nature to harmonize with the probable thoughts and moods of the guests. When the host has arranged all these matters with elaborate care, he awaits his guests at the appointed hour. They enter in an order regulated by their social position, and take their seats as shown in the diagrams. A member of a noble family has the precedence, and after him the descendant of a *sosho*, and then the owner of a celebrated tea-utensil. Before entering, the superior guest unbuckles his sword and lays it on the sword-rack, and the others follow his example. The room, as will be seen, is arranged for seven guests. For this number five cups are provided, since the tea-cups always number two less than the guests. If there were five guests there would be three tea-cups. But there are other schools of *cha-no-yu* where the number is always four.

The superior guest will, after seating himself, show his breeding by a careful examination and well-considered eulogy of the arrangement of the room, the *kakemono*, and the tea-utensils. This he will do in the absence of the host, who retires until his guests have looked well around. When he returns, he thanks his guests for their kind visit, and retires again to bring in two vessels, one of which contains charcoal and the other hot

ashes. With these he makes a fire on the hearth, and when it is in a red glow, he burns some incense in a censer to purify the air, and sets the kettle on to boil. The superior guest will then, after asking pardon of his next neighbour, beg to be shown the censer and tray, and the other guests will manifest the same curiosity. The host again retires to his room, and returning asks his guests if they will now have something to eat. They reply politely through the leading guest, that they wait the host's pleasure. After an interval of ten minutes, devoted to smoking, the host comes in and hands a small dining-table to each of his guests in order, and bowl after bowl of soup and fish follow, the superior guest being always the first to commence eating. When the feast is half through, *sake* cups are brought in, along with a *sake* bottle for each guest. The whole of the *sake* cups are offered to the superior guest, who passes them to his neighbour, reserving one for himself that he may drink with the host, and the others do likewise till the last.

When the feast is over, the ends of the chopstick are wiped with paper napkins, and tobacco pipes are again filled. Then follows a course of sweetmeats. After this and some further examination of the *kakemono*, the guests step into the garden for a short walk, while the host takes advantage of their absence to adorn the room with flowers, and to put on a suitable dress for the tea-drinking to follow. When every preparation is complete, he strikes a gong to summon his guests, who enter the room in the same order and with the same formalities as before. Again it will be the part of the superior guest to lead the way in, where he will not fail to admire the new arrangements, the flower-vases, the tea-canister, the water-jug and the rest.

The tea first prepared is called *koi-cha*, and is made by pouring upon tea-leaves water that has been boiling but is now tepid. The tea-cup used for *koi-cha* is irregular in shape and has a diameter and depth of about four inches. In receiving the cup the guests make use of five white napkins with which they have been provided. The cup is first handed by the host to the superior guest, who passes it on to his neighbour. Each guest after sipping twice or thrice, wipes the edge of the cup with his

napkin. The superior guest will, after tasting, ask various question about the tea : where it came from, what name it goes by and so forth, the others meanwhile keeping silence. The host is the last to drink, and in doing so apologizes for the pooriness of the infusion—a mere formality, but one never omitted. The tea-cup is then handed round and admired, and when it comes back to the master, he proceeds to re-arrange the hearth, and burns fresh incense in the censer. Pipes are again filled, and sweetmeats and weak tea are offered to each guest separately, small tea-cups being used. The guests may now drink as they please, and the conversation becomes less stilted and formal. In half-an-hour or so the guests will rise to take leave and will be profuse in their thanks to the host for the hospitality shown them. He will bid them farewell with deprecatory remarks compliments and good wishes, bowing low twice or thrice in succession.

A later *So-sho*, Senno Rikiu of Ozaka, who has gained an imperishable reputation in Japan for tact and taste in matters of etiquette, demands for a perfect tea-party, as its essentials, purity, peacefulness, reverence, and detachment from all worldly cares. 'Without these,' he said 'we cannot have a tea-party.'

NEW YEAR FESTIVITIES.

When the first of January comes round, every one is accustomed to call on his friends and acquaintances. When people are on very friendly terms, the visitor will not merely leave his card, but will enter the house and present his salutations to each member of the household. It is customary to offer *to-so*, a liquor drunk at New Year time, followed by common *sake*. The first three days of the year is the proper time to make visits; busy people, however, and ladies are frequently later than this.

At the entrance of every house are stuck two pine-branches, *kado-matsu*, a custom which gives quite a green and leafy appearance to streets during the first week of the year. Families at this festive time lay in a stock of *mochi*, cake made by beating glutinous rice in a mortar. The making of the *mochi* is a time of

jollity. The *mochi* is frequently formed into large circular cakes, called *kagami mochi* (mirror *mochi*), which are exchanged among relations. He who looks upon the *kagami mochi* ought to recite some lines of a song.

In Kiyoto it is not usual for the people to go round making New Year calls: they shut their doors and amuse themselves within. Merchants in general shut up their houses and take their amusement in-doors.

On New Year's Day, in some parts of the country, friends when they meet clap their hands together in their exuberance of good fellowship. The New Year's breakfast will, if possible, include the two lucky fishes *kadzu-noko* and *gomame*. The former is auspicious, as it promises a large family of sons; the latter is associated with good health.

WEDDINGS.

In old Japan when a man wanted to get a wife, he went to the house of the girl whom he fancied and threw one of his shoes into the yard. If the shoe were picked up and taken inside by her, he looked for a favourable issue, but if it were cast out again he went away disconsolate. But now, as a Japanese student quaintly put it, 'Marriage, like tea, is attended with a confused ceremony,' which, to be complete, would require a lengthy description.

The usual age for marrying in Japan is from twenty-one to twenty-six for men, and from seventeen to nineteen for women. The choice of a husband or wife is mainly left to the parents of the young people. When a son attains a suitable age, his parents, with his concurrence, ask their friends to inquire after a wife. When a friend hears of a girl who will possibly suit, he makes full inquiries regarding her character and daily conduct, and then reports to the parents of the young man. If the parents are satisfied, they appoint some friend (*nakodo*) to settle matters.

Marriages conducted without intermediaries (*nakodo*), frequently happen in Japan, but as yet the results have not been sufficiently happy to justify a departure from the national custom. It is the duty of the intermediary to go to the parents of

the girl and propose an alliance. A direct refusal to such an overture is considered very rude, even where the parents are unwilling to enter into terms. It is customary to ask for a few days for a full consideration of the matter, these days being taken up with making inquiries regarding the character and conduct of the young man. If the parents of the girl are in their turn satisfied, they inform the intermediary of their compliance, and he will settle a day for the *miai*, or secret glimpse. On this critical day the girl goes in all her finery, accompanied by her mother and an attendant, to some public place, often a Shinto temple. The young man is there already, expecting her arrival, and, seated on the bench of a tea-house, observes the party as it goes by. The girl casts a short glance at him, and if both are pleased, the wedding day is fixed. Sometimes, however, the *miai* takes place in a neighbour's house or in the theatre. The intermediary goes next day to the bride's house with presents, in token that all is arranged. The days on which a marriage is unlucky are very many.

This distinction of days into 'lucky' and 'unlucky' is said to be of Buddhist origin, as we hear of no such thing in primitive Japan. A priest in China named Ichigio-Ajiari gets the credit of having originated the superstition, which was imported into Japan full-blown. Kuwammu-Tenno (796 A.D.) published an edict in condemnation of the superstition, but like most edicts of this kind it did little good. Henceforward these days continued to be inserted in calendars until the reign of the present emperor, whose government has exerted itself to suppress this and similar absurd publications. But a superstition which took firm hold of the minds of people so long ago as eleven centuries, will not die out immediately, and 'lucky' days continue to be preferred.

The lucky days are the following :—

In order to find what days are lucky, it is necessary to know the names assigned to each day :

Days are named after the elements :

甲 Kinoye	(great tree)	乙 Kinoto	(small tree)
丙 Hinoye	(" fire)	丁 Hinoto	(" fire)

Oct.	Kinoye-Ne.
Nov.	none
Dec.	Kinoye-ne.

When the bride's family have named the day, the bridegroom is expected to send to the bride—

1. One robe of white silk (*shiromuku*) ;
2. do. brocade ;
3. do. white damask ;
4. Seven casks of liquor ;
5. Seven boxes of fresh fish.

He sends to the father of the bride—

1. A short and a long sword ;
2. A sum of money ;
3. Casks of liquor.

And to the mother of the bride—

1. A piece of silk ;
2. Casks of liquor ;
3. Fresh fish.

The above lists need not be strictly adhered to, for the number of the gifts depends upon the position and means of the bridegroom. In return the parents of the bride must send similar gifts.

About five days before the wedding the bride's belongings are sent to her future home. The porters on this occasion expect to receive a present in money, and to have some food provided for them.

The near relatives of both parties, and often the intimate friends of the bridegroom, are invited to the wedding. On the wedding-day the fathers of the young couple station themselves in the evening at the entrance to the bridegroom's house, and await the arrival of bride in *norimono*, *jirikisha*, or carriage. She is forthwith conducted to the room where her paraphernalia were carried a few days previously, and here she rests awhile and arrays herself in her wedding garments.

The really important ceremony then follows in a private room, where only the intermediary, who is always a married man, and his wife are allowed to be present with the young couple.

Two young friends, a boy and a girl, are also present in the capacity of attendants. These are provided each with a peculiarly shaped, highly ornamented, and symbolic vessel containing *sake*. The ceremony, which is called *san-sankudo* or "three times three," consists in drinking in a somewhat intricate fashion from three shallow cups of graduated size, which rest in an inverted position, the one above the other, upon a special form of tray, the smallest being undermost. The intermediary, who sits facing his wife, with the bride and bridegroom to right and left, presents the tray and cups to the bride. She lifts the uppermost cup and holds it before her, while the young attendants one on each side, simultaneously pour in a little *sake*, which she then drinks. The cup now passes to the bridegroom, to whose side the young attendants move; and the same operation is performed. It then passes back again to the bride, and so on to and fro, till each one has gone through the ceremony three times. The first cup is then removed, and exactly the same series of operations gone through with the second cup, and finally with the third.

The bride is expected to wear a white silk robe called *shiro-muku*, and to have on her head the *watabo katsugi*, a long veil descending nearly to her feet. The white dress is said to signify that the bride means to die in her husband's house, and will never be divorced. The bridegroom wears a suit called *kamishimo*, consisting of a loose coat and trousers.

During the celebration of the *Sansankudo* the guests are assembling in the principal room, which is gaily lit up with candles, and are taking their seats in the order which their intimacy with the two families and their social position may warrant. Then the bride is conducted into the room by the wife of the intermediary and the bridegroom by the intermediary himself. The newly married pair have now to drink the *sakazuki* with the guests in turn.

The feast is generally begun in silence. When it is all served and as the *sake* goes round freely, the company breaks into mirth and laughter, and the intermediary sings a song of joy:—*Takasagoya kono urafune ni ho wo age te*. Every one in the room then

offers his congratulations, and music, dancing, and other amusements follow. As the guests leave, they are not accompanied to the door by the host, for on the occasion of a marriage or death this courtesy is dispensed with. About a week after the wedding an entertainment is given in the bride's house, to which relatives and friends are invited. Congratulations are offered, and people are expected upon this occasion to enjoy themselves thoroughly.

FUNERALS AND MOURNING.

When a friend dies, those who are invited to the funeral will present themselves at the house one hour later than the time mentioned. The appropriate dress for the occasion is of black and any kind of colour and ornament is out of place. A demeanour expressing sympathy with the sad event is expected. The relatives, male and female, of the deceased dress themselves in white. On the night previous to the funeral they do not retire to sleep, but spend it awake—the 'wake.' Friends are expected to bring presents, say of money or candles, enclosed in a paper bag, and tied with a mauve *midzushiki*. No Japanese comes empty-handed on such an occasion.

In many parts of the country, as in Tosa, funerals of the upper classes take place after sunset. The usual order for the funeral procession is as follows :—First comes the priest, either on foot or carried in a chair. Then follows the coffin, which is accompanied by male children of the deceased bearing vases of flowers on *ihai*, and other articles. There *ihai* are small stands inscribed with the name of the deceased. Behind the coffin follow the male relatives of the deceased, and his friends, according to the degree of intimacy. Friends who are not very intimate need not follow the procession, but it is incumbent on them to leave their cards at the house.

On arrival at the temple, the coffin is brought into the principal hall, and the priests, clad in their richest robes, and with their chief at their head, perform the funeral rites, chanting in Sanscrit from their sacred books. Some one of their number has been engaged in prayer for the departed since the time of his death. The religious service finished, the relatives, and after

them the friends, of the deceased advance to the coffin and burn some incense tapers before it : then bowing several times reverently, they return to their seats. The coffin is thereupon carried to the grave, and all the mourners cast a handful of earth upon it after it is lowered into its resting-place.

Next day the women of the family, dressed in white, pay a visit to the grave. Formerly it was usual for a family in which the father, mother, grandfather, or grandmother had died, to stay at home for fifty days, the tomb being visited daily by one at least of their number. Once a week the Buddhist priest comes to read to them out of the sacred books, and once a week, also, they entertain their friends, who bring presents with them, in order that the family may not be put to too great expense. The first, third, seventh, thirteenth, thirty-third, fiftieth, and hundredth anniversaries of the death are always religiously observed by the lineal descendants.

LETTER-WRITING.

The Japanese letter may be divided into seven different parts, as represented in the accompanying diagram :—

VII	VI	V	IV	III				II				I
	o						o	o	o	o	o	o
	o		O		o		o	o	o	o	o	o
o	o		O		o		o	o	o	o	o	o
o	o		O		o	O	o	o	o	o	o	o
o	o	o	O	o	o	O	o	o	o	o	o	o
o	o	o	O	o		O	o	o	o	o	o	o
o	o	o		o		O	o	o	o	o	o	o
o	o		o			O	o	o	o	o	o	o

I. The writer begins with the compliments of the season, and congratulates his friend on his continued good health (if this is the case), and bids him not be uneasy about the writer, as he is well and happy.

II. The body of the letter.

III. The date, in somewhat smaller characters than are used for the body of the letter. It is usual to commence at the space of one character below the top of the preceding lines.

IV. The writer subscribes his name in the same style as the date, and below it, but just a little to the left.

V. Here follows the name of the person addressed, in characters as large as the body of the letter.

VI. Down below V, to the left, are written characters which signify, 'Please take the trouble to look over my humble epistle.'

VII. This last is of the nature of a postscript. It is not unusual to use it for the expression of a polite wish :—

'I hope you will continue to enjoy health and prosperity.
'Pray be careful about your health for the sake of the country.'

DISCUSSION.

The Chairman, in complimenting the author on his paper, which would no doubt be of great practical value to the members of the society, remarked that the etiquette treated of was man's etiquette; and that there was quite a complicated system of etiquette for ladies. He had himself read a large five-volumed treatise which might be called the "Whole Duty of Woman."

Mr. Dallas remarked that the constant reference to rice in the minute instructions for behaviour at meals showed that they applied to the politeness to be practised in daily life, rather than the formal banquets to which alone foreigners are usually invited, when rice is only produced at the conclusion of the feast. In some parts of the country rice is not brought in at all at entertainments of this class, and a dozen years ago his ignorance of this local custom caused him some embarrassment. At the end of a grand dinner in the private residence of an official in Yonezawa, he was asked if he would take some rice, and accepted, as a matter of course supposing that as in Tokio the acceptance was equivalent to saying that he desired no more *sake*. To his surprise, instead of a bowl being brought immediately there were whispered orders, and after a long delay, during which sounds of cooking were heard from the kitchen, there was brought to each person a tray with plainly-cooked fish and all the concomitants of the ordinary evening meal. He discovered afterwards that local etiquette forbade rice to be produced without this accompaniment, and that his host's offer merely indicated that they had come to the end of the menu.

Dr. Whitney, in the course of a few remarks, said that at feasts, and even at ordinary meals, to empty the rice cup at once is looked upon as a sign of ill-breeding, and until one has had sufficient, or is desirous of retiring, there should always be left a small quantity of rice in the bottom of the cup. To pour tea over the rice, or when emptied, to replace the cover upon the rice bowl, is an indication that the guest has finished. At weddings, the curious custom of offering before the bridegroom a dwarf pine tree, with the representation of a stork among its branches and a little old couple beneath, is a necessary part of every such ceremony. The double-spiked pine is emblematic of the true unity of marriages, and the figures of the stork and the old people, of long life. Among Japanese young people, the double-spiked pine needles are suggestive of marriage. To have one of these thrown at one, and to be touched by it, is equivalent to being caught under the mistletoe. At funerals, white is usually worn by the chief mourner; and the custom is now prevalent, among some classes, of wearing slightly-made broad-brimmed hats of straw, and of making the journey from the house of the deceased to the grave in *zori*, or straw sandals, the *geta* or wooden clogs being carried by a servant in the rear of the procession. The presents at funerals are usually of bean-cakes, or money, tied up with white and black, or dark green *midzushiki*, or string. The money is wrapped up in paper, and the amount enclosed written upon the wrapper in the smallest denomination of the currency of the country; as for instance, ten *sen* would be called a thousand *mon* or cash, and a *yen* ten thousand. While it is considered impolite to offer anything containing the flesh of animals at a funeral, at other times it is absolutely requisite, so that it should in some way accompany each present; it is probably to guard against this omission that the *noshi*, or present mark accompanying every gift, always contains a bit of *awabe*, the meat of the *Holiotis tuberculata*, or other species of sea-ear. The changes through which the various customs and forms of etiquette of the Japanese are now passing, from those of the feudal times to those of the enlightened age of Meiji, and the new order of things consequent upon the contact of the people of Japan with strangers of Western countries, are very great, and the question as to how far our Western ideas of etiquette will impress the Japanese, and to what extent our customs will affect theirs, is one of considerable interest.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO A CATALOGUE OF THE LEPIDOPTERA OF JAPAN.

BY H. PRYER.

(Continued from Vol. XII, page 103).

I have to thank my friends, Mr. G. K. Dinsdale and Professor Milne, for looking over the proofs of my Catalogue during my absence, and now give a list of the errata :

- Page 38, line 31, for *Ægeridæ* read *Ægeriidæ*.
 " 39, " 12, after *Ægeria hector* insert, B. M. 2, Pl. 40, f 4, p. 60.
 " 39, " 28, for Plate 15 read Pl. 40, p. 60.
 " 39, " 29, " *Euripidæ* read *Eurhipidæ*.
 " 39, " 32, " *Authopilidæ* read *Anthopilidæ*.
 " 40, " 1, " *Einnychidæ* read *Ennychidæ*.
 " 40, " 16, " *Zenzera* read *Zeuzera*.
 " 41, " 28, " larger read smaller.
 " 42, " 19, after *sinensis* insert, A. M. Nov. 1879, p. 351.
 " 43, " 22, " E. S. 1881 read Part I.
 " 43, " 26, after *Schistomitra funeralis*, But., insert E. S. 1881, P. 1, 4.
 " 44, " 26, " *Æmene minuta*, But, insert E. S. 1881, p. 4, p. 595.
 " 45, " 1, for Pl. 21, read Pl. 22.
 " 45, " 7, after *Fugoa grisea* insert But.
 " 47, " 13, for *Chelonidæ* read *Arctiidæ*.
 " 47, " 28, erase *Schistomitra funeralis*, But.
 " 48, " 5. for *phæsoma* read *phæosoma*.
 " 48, " 10, " *Lachina* read *lactinia*.

- Page 48, line 19, for 1878 read 1879.
- " 49, " 8, " Pl. 24 read Pl. 23.
- " 50, " 17, " *Liparis* read *Stilpnotia*.
- " 50, under 19, insert *Porthetria japonica*, Mots.
- " 51, " 15, " *testacea*, Mots.
- " 51, " 20, " *Odonistes* read *Odonestis*.
- " 51, " 22, " " " "
- " 51, " 28, " " " "
- " 51, " 30, " " " "
- and insert — is not an *Odonestis* but *Lasiocampa*.
- Page 52, line 8, for *Æona* read *Cæna*.
- " 53, " 26, " Pl. 25, read Pl. 24.
- " 54, " 27, " 1878 read 1879.
- " 56, " 14, " *Lophopterya* read *Lophopteryx*.
- " 57, " 10, " *Limacodidæ* read *Limacodidæ*.
- " 58, " 13, " *Psychedæ* read *Psychidæ*.
- " 58, " 15, " *Ennomidæ* read *Ennommidæ*.
- " 59, " 26, for f. 9. read f. 8.
- " 60, " 30, " Pl. 88 read P. 48.
- " 61, " 3, " *Discorebia* read *Descorebia*.
- " 62, " 19, " *seniles* read *senilis*.
- " 64, " 23, " *confusiarum* read *confuciaria*.
- " 65, " 13, " *But.* read *Walk.*
- " 66, " 1, " *Thalasodes* read *Thalassodes*.
- " 66, " 4, " *Acidalidæ* read *Acidaliidæ*.
- " 66, " 10, " P. 41 read p. 5.
- " 67, " 5, " *Lycanges* read *Lycauges*.
- " 67, " 17, after superior, *But.*, insert B. M. 3, p. 39, Pl. 50, f. 9.
- " 67, " 25, " *invalida*, *But.*, read A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 439.
- " 68, " 18, for *Geometridæ* read *Geometridæ*.
- " 72, " 22, " *in* read *on*.
- " 73, " 1, " *Abraxas* read *Callabraxas*.
- " 73, " 6, " *conspuricata* read *conspurcata*.
- " 73, " 13, " *Hybernidæ* read *Hyberniidæ*.
- " 74, " 23, " 179 read 1879.

- Page 75, line 7, for 1887 read 1879.
 " 75, " 11, the Microniidae should be placed after the Acidaliidae.
 " 75, " 30, after f. 8 insert p. 51.
 " 76, " 16, under Thera comis insert Larentia comis.
 " 77, " 3, for p. 5, read p. 54.
 " 78, " 4, after Cabera insert ?
 " 81, " 12, " aurorina insert E. S. 1881, Pt. 2, p. 171.
 " 81, " 17, under derasa insert derasoides, But., etc.
 " 81, " 18, after pyrerri, But., insert E. S. 1881, Pt. 2, p. 171.
 " 81, " 22, " Xylina insert mirabilis, But.
 " 81, " 25, " Xylina insert arctipennis, But.
 " 83, " 8, for observed read obscured.
 " 83, " 11, after consanguis, But., insert A. M. Nov. 1879, p. 358.
 " 83, " 20, erase Plataplecta insert Plataplecta subviridis.
 " 83, " 25, after digna, But., insert, E. S. 1881, Pt. 2, p. 176.
 " 83, " 28, erase Pharetra, after leucoptera, But., insert E. S. 1881, Pt. 4, 595.
 " 93, between line 28 and 29 insert Pharetra leucoptera.
 " 85, line 2, erase Extranea, insert Leucania extranea, Guen., A. M. Nov. 1879, p. 359.
 " 85, " 5, erase loreyi, Dup., insert A. M. Nov. 1879, p. 359.
 " 85, " 9, " innocens, But., insert E. S. 1881, Pt. 2, p. 173.
 " 85, " 26, " B. M. 3, insert Pl. 44.
 " 86, " 3, " tristis, But., erase A. M. Nov. 1879, p. 359.
 " 86, " 4, " caliginosa insert Dipterygia caliginosa. Walk., A. M. Nov. 1879, p. 359.
 " 87, " 9, erase Glotulidae.
 " 87, " 10, after sordida, But., insert E. S. 1881, Pt. 2, p. 174.

Mr. Butler places *Dandaca senex* and *Glottula sordida* in the same genus, but these two insects belong to widely different genera.

- Page 89, line 15, erase *palascens* insert *pallascens*.
 " 90, " 15, " *Orthonidæ*, insert *Orthosiidæ*.
 " 90, " 31, " *sericea* insert *sericea*.
 " 91, " 5, " *Cosmidæ*, insert *Cosmiidæ*.
 " 92, " 7, " *cinerea*, B.
 " 92, " between 7 and 8 insert *cinerea*, But., E. S. 1881, Pt. 2, p. 184.
 " 92, " 21, *Hypogrammidæ* should succeed *Amphipyridæ* on page 99.
 " 92, " 29, after *bella*, But., insert E. S. 1881, Pt. 2, p. 175.
 " 93, " 9, after *atriplicis* erase But.
 " 93, " 10, " *gnoma* insert But., B. M. 2, Pt. 31, f. 7, p. 32.
 " 93, " 22, erase *A. gerdæ* or *Ennychidæ* insert *Ageriidæ* or *Ennychidæ*.
 " 93, " 29, after *exoleta* erase B. M. 2, p. 33, Pt. 31, f. 8.
 " 93, " 30, " *fumosa* insert B. M. 2, p. 33, Pt. 31, f. 8.
 " 95, " 1, erase *Acontidæ* insert *Acontiidæ*.
 " 95, " 24, after *atrata* But., insert E. S. 1881, Pt. 2, p. 188.
 " 97, " 11, after *rutilans*, But., erase A. M. Nov. 1879, p. 368.
 " 97, " 12, erase *serena* insert *Plusia serena*, But., A. M. Nov. 1879, p. 368.
 " 97, " 12, erase *Diva* insert *Deva*.
 " 99, " 17, after *sera Fel* erase B. M. 2, p. 36, Pt. 32, f. 6.
 " 99, " 18, " *crispina* But., insert B. M. 2, p. 36, Pt. 32, f. 6.
 " 100, " 8, after *volcanæa*, But., insert E. S. 1881, Pt. 2, p. 192.
 " 100, " 16, erase *Foullidæ* insert *Focillidæ*.
 " " 23, after *Pl.* insert 32, f. 1.
 " " 31, after *Calpe* insert *alliciens*.

Page 102, line 13, erase *Opinsidæ* insert *Ophiussidæ*.

" 103, " 31, after Pl. 34, insert f. 1.

" " " 33, after *Capnodes* erase the comma.

I have received the following additional names:—

Vol. XI, Part II, page 288, No. 39 is *Strymon w. album*, Knoch.

" " " " " 230, " 56—*Lycæna lycormas*, But.

" " " " " 238, " 115—*Pythauria chrysœglia*, But.

" XII, " " " 44, " 95—*Nola gigantea*, But.

" " " " " 47, " 131—*Yezo* specimens Mr. Butler identifies as *Rhyparioides simplicior* var.

" " " " " " " 132—*Eusemia* should be *Chelonomorpha*.

" " " " " 49, " 155—is *Eilicrinia cordiaria*, Hub., and should be included in the *Macariidæ*.

" " " " " 50, " 169—*Liparis* should be *Stilpnolia*.

Vol. XII, Part II, page 50, No. 170 Mr. Butler identifies *Yezo* specimens as *Porthetria japonica*, Motsch., but there is no doubt about this being identical with *Porthetria dispar*.

Vol. XII, part II, page 51, No. 182 Mr. Butler identifies *Yezo* specimens as *Clisiocampa testacea*, Motsch., but there is no doubt about this being identical with *Clisiocampa neustria*.

" " " " " 60, " 283 is *Pericallia testacea*, But.

" " " " " 71, " 477—*Strenia clathrata*, Linn.

" " " " " 73, " 503—*Callabraxas*.

" " " " " 85, " 704—*Chasmina albonitens*, Breno.

" " " " " " " 705— " *atrata*, But.

" " " " " 86, " 733—*Xylophasia scolopacina*, Espen.

" " " " " " " 722—*Glottula sordida*, But.

" " " " " 87, " 787—erase *Glottula sordida*, But. insert *Gerbatha pseudodyops*, But.

Page 91, No. 820, *Cosmia trapezina* is *exigna*, But. .

" 101, " 957, is *Catocala lara*, Brem.

" 102, " 968, " " *dissimilis*, Brem.

The following is a list of species (?) I have not yet identified—

SPHINGIDÆ

- Acosmeryx metanaga*, But., A. M. Nov. 1879, p. 350.
Cinogon cingulatum, But., E. S. 1881, Pt. 1, p. 2.
Triptogon sperchius Menetr., A. M. Nov. 1879, p. 350.
Hyloicus davidis Ober., E. S. 1881, Pt. 1, p. 2.

BOMBYCINA.

- Spilarctia mollicula*, But., B. M. 3, p. 6, Pl. 42, f. 7.
Thanatarechia infernalis, But., B. M. 3, p. 7, Pl. 42, f. 9.
Collita ægrota, But., B. M. 3, p. 8, Pl. 42, f. 13.
Procris esmeralda, But., B. M. 2, p. 4, Pl. 21, f. 8.
Peridea gigantea, But., B. M. 2, P. 2, p. 13, Pl. 24, f. 6.
Hupodonta corticalis, But., B. M. 2, P. 2, p. 13, Pl. 24, f. 7.
Gelastocera exusta, But., B. M. 2, P. 2, p. 13, Pl. 24, f. 2.
Oreta turpis, But., B. M. 2, P. 2, p. 14, Pl. 25, f. 8.
Hysomadius insignis, But., B. M. 2, P. 2, p. 15, Pl. 25, f. 3.
Syntomis erebrina, But., E. S. 1881, Pt. 1, April, p. 5.
Nemeophila macromera, But., E. S. 1881, Pt. 1, April, p. 5.
Diacrisia irene, But., E. S. 1881, Pt. 1, April, p. 6.
Spilarctia basilimbata, But., E. S. 1881, Pt. 1, April, p. 6.
 " *bifasciata*, " " " p. 7.
Miltochrista artaxidia, " " " p. 8.
Gampola noctis, " " " p. 8.
Sinna fentoni, " " " p. 8.
 " *clara*, " " " p. 8.
Chærotriche nipponis, " " " p. 9.
Orgyia approximans, " " " p. 10.
 " *thyellina*, " " " p. 10.
Porthetria umbrosa, " " " p. 10.
 " *hadina*, " " " p. 11.
 " *lucescens*, " " " p. 11.
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It appears from the foregoing list that Mr. Butler has described as 'new species' from Japan no less than about 570, or more than half of the species catalogued among the moths alone. It is a very significant fact that only seven out of his 20 species of butterflies stand investigation, and some of these seven I consider doubtful.

I am *utterly incredulous* that this large number of species is peculiar to Japan, and am convinced that many of the so-called species are merely local and temperature forms and varieties.

Page 38 No. 33 is contaminata.

- " 38 " 35 erase contaminata.
- " 42 " 65 for *Chleophora* read *Chloeophora*.
- " 48 " 137 " *phæsonoma* read *phæsonoma*.
- " 51 " 182 " *neustria* read *neustria*.
- " 53 " 195 " *Tropæa* read *Tropæa*.
- " 55 " 208 " *Pygæra* read *Pygæra*.
- " 59 " 268 " *Erymene* read *Eurymene*.
- " 70 " 458 after *Macaria notata* insert—
458½ *Macaria nivosa*, Nikko.
- " 75 " 555/6 *Collix*.
- " 77 " *inamæna* read *inamæna*.
- " 79 " 629 for *Chærodis* read *Chærodis*.
- " 83 " 677 " *Tholpophils* read *Thalpopphila*.
- " 86 " 716 " *Charœas* read *Charœas*.

34 PRYER : A CATALOGUE OF THE LEPIDOPTERA OF JAPAN.

Page 86 No. 723 " *Noenia* read *Nænia*.

" 88 " 764 " *Trypcæna* read *Tryphæna*.

" 99 " 931 " *cervina* read *corvina*.

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I have finished a rough catalogue of the *Pyralidina*, but owing to the very large number of unavoidably unidentified species, I have considerable hesitation in publishing it. As, however, it will form the basis of future work on this interesting group, which contains some of the most insidious insect enemies of the farmer, I hope it will be useful as a first attempt to reduce it to something like order. I have nearly 400 species, most of which are found in the neighbourhood of Yokohama. The whole of the British Islands have only produced under 200 species, and this after every part of the United Kingdom has been anxiously searched by a host of ardent entomologists during the past 50 years. The prospect of the number of species that will undoubtedly be found in Japan, when it is thoroughly worked, is alarming to contemplate.

I am afraid that I have made the family *Herminiidæ* 'a refuge for the destitute,' as I have placed in it many puzzling species. I hardly think the family *Egnasia* can claim any relationship with the *Herminiidæ*, and have followed Mr. Butler in placing them in this family, for want of a better suggestion on my own part.

I have whole groups without a single identification, and fear it will tax Mr. Butler's energies to name them, notwithstanding that gentleman's well known capacity for hard work and predilection for 'new species,' and fear we shall be well on into the twentieth century before the task is satisfactorily accomplished.

I have appended few notes on the species, for the sake of brevity, and I have endeavoured to restrict the number of species enumerated as much as possible; when in doubt I have generally not allotted a separate number. I believe that future investigation will prove that I have been rather too strict in this respect;

but as I find that the majority of species are many brooded in the course of the year, they are therefore very subject to vary as 'temperature forms.'

I have been much impressed by a strange peculiarity in the Japanese *Pyralidine*, and that is, while some families positively swarm, others again are very scarce—as the *Eudoria* and *Phycidæ*. Of the first I have always taken every specimen I could possibly obtain, and although I have amassed 33 species of the former and 36 of the latter, I have only about 700 specimens of the two groups in all. When we know more about their life history, this peculiarity will no doubt be more easily understood.

This fact (the paucity of specimens) will explain the large number of unidentified species in these groups, as I have not yet been able to send duplicates for identification.

To save subsequent reference, I have included the unidentified species with the others; but they are distinguished by being *without* numbers.

THERMESIIDÆ.

990. *PYRINIOIDES AUREA*, But., E. S. 1881, P. 2, p. 200.

Pyralidina.

PLATYDIIDÆ.

991. *PLUSIODONTA CASTA*, But., B. M. 2, p. 54, Pl. 38, f. 1.
Yokohama.

HYPENIDÆ.

992. *HYPENA*.

Nikko.

993. *HYPENA STYGIANA*, But., B. M. 2, p. 55, Pl. 38, f. 6.

Yokohama.

994. *HYPENA*.

Nikko.

995. *HYPENA*.

Nikko.

996. *HYPENA*.
997. *HYPENA ZILLA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 60, Pl. 56, f. 1.
Ohoyama.
998. *HYPENA*.
Yezo.
999. *HYPENA*.
Nikko.
1000. *HYPENA*.
Ohoyama.
1001. *DICHROMIA CLARIPENNIS*, But., B. M. 2, p. 5, Pl. 38, f. 2.
Yokohama.
1002. *DICHROMIA AMICA*, But., B. M. 2, p. 55, Pl. 38, f. 3.
Yokohama.
1003. *DICHROMIA ELLA*, But., B. M. 2, p. 55, Pl. 38, f. 5.
Yokohama: Mr. Butler separates this from *Dichromia*.
1004. *HYPENA*.
Yokohama, Yezo.
1005. *HYPENA*.
Asamayama.
1006. *HYPENA*.
1007. *HYPENA*.
Yokohama.
1008. *HYPENA VIGENS*, But. B. M. 2, p. 55, Pl. 38, f. 4.
Yokohama.
1009. *HYPENA MINNA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 59, Pl. 55, f. 12.
Yokohama.
1010. *HYPENA TATORHINA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 60, Pl. 55, f. 13.
Yokohama.
1011. *HYPENA KENKALIS*, Brem.
Yokohama.
1012. *HYPENA*.
Yokohama.
1013. *HYPENA TRIPUNCTALIS*, Brem.
Yokohama.
1014. *HYPENA BELINDA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 61, Pl. 56, f. 3.
Yokohama.

1015. *HYPENA*.
Yokohama.
1016. *HYPENA INDICATALIS*, Walk.
Nikko.
1017.
Yokohama.
1018. *HYPENA*.
Yokohama.
1019. *HYPENA*.
Nikko.
1020. *HYPENA*.
Yezo.
1021. *GABALA ARGENTATA*, But., B. M. 2, p. 56. Pl. 30, f. 3.
Yokohama.
1022. *GABALA*.
Yokohama.
1023. *HORMISA PLUSIOIDES*, But., B. M. 3, p. 61, P. 56, f. 5.
Yokohama.
1023. *HORMISA CRAMBOIDES*, But., B. M. 3, p. 62, Pl. 56, f. 5.
Yokohama.
1024. *HORMISA CALAMINA*, But., A. M. 1879, Dec., p. 446.
Yokohama.
1025. *HORMISA MOROSA*, But., A. M. Dec., 1879, p. 446.
Yokohama.
1026. *HYPENA SQUALIDA*, But.
stygiana ?
HYPENA COLUMBARIS, But., B. M. 2, p. 55, Pl. 38, f. 7.
HYPENA RIVULIGERA, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 579.
GISIRA HERCULES, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 579.

HERMINIIDÆ.

1030. *EDESSENA HAMADA*, Walk.
Ohoyama.
1031. *EDESSENA*.
Yokohama.
1032. *ENTOMOGRAMMA USSURIENSIS*, Brem.
Yokohama.

1033. *PSIMADA CINERAREA*, But.
Yokohama.
1034. *EGNASIA*.
Nikko.
1035.
Ohoyama.
1036. *EGNASIA TRIMANTASALIS*, Walk.
Yokohama.
1037. *EGNASIA*.
Nikko.
1038. *EGNASIA*.
Nikko.
1039. *EGNASIA*.
Yokohama.
1040. *EGNASIA ERBINA*, But., A. M. Dec., 1879, p. 450.
Yokohama.
1041. *EGNASIA*.
Yezo.
1042. *EGNASIA PORPHYREA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 66, Pl. 57, f. 7.
Yokohama.
1043. *MARMORHINA AMPHIDECTA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 68, Pl. 57, f. 11.
Ohoyama, Nikko.
1044. *EGNASIA POLYBAPTA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 66, Pl. 57, f. 7.
Yokohama.
1045. *EGNASIA PULCHERRIMA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 67, Pl. 57, f. 8.
Yokohama.
1046. *EGNASIA*.
Nikko.
1047. *EGNASIA SIMPLEX*, But., B. M. 3, p. 66, Pl. 5, f. 5.
Ohoyama.
1048. *EGNASIA PUSILIA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 67, Pl. 57, f. 9.
Yokohama.
1049. *EGNASIA ARGILLACEA*, But., A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 450.
Yokohama.
1050. *EGNASIA OPALINA*, A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 451.
Yokohama.

1051. *GISIRA SIGNATA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 61, Pl. 56, f. 4.
Yokohama. Mr. Butler places this among the Hypenidæ; the male has largely developed palpi, curving over the thorax reaching the body.
1053. *HERMINIA DOLOSA*, But., A. M. 1879, Dec., p. 446.
Yokohama.
1054. *HERMINIA ARENOSA*, But., B. M. 2, p. 56, Pl. 38, f. 8.
Yokohama.
1055. *HERMINIA*.
Nikko.
1056. *HERMINIA INNOCENS*, But., B. M. 3, p. 63, Pl. 56, f. 10.
Yokohama.
1057. *HERMINIA FUMOSA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 62, Pl. 55, f. 8.
Yokohama.
1058. *HERMINIA TRILINEALIS*, Brem.
Yokohama.
1059. *HERMINIA*.
Yokohama.
1060. *HERMINIA*.
Yokohama.
1061. *HERMINIA*.
Yokohama.
1062. *HERMINIA*.
Yokohama.
1063. *HERMINIA*.
Yokohama.
1064. *HERMINIA HELVA*, But., A. M. 1879, Dec., p. 447.
Yokohama.
1065. *HERMINIA*.
Yokohama.
1066. *HERMINIA*.
Yokohama.
1067. *HERMINIA PRYERI*, But., B. M. 3, p. 63, Pl. 56, f. 11.
Yokohama.
1068. *HERMINIA GRISELDA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 62, Pl. 55, f. 9.
Yokohama.

1069. AMBLYGOES CINEREA, But., B. M. 3, p. 69, Pl. 58, f. 1.
Yokohama.
1070. AMBLYGOES ALBINOTATA, But., A. M. Dec., 1879, p. 449.
Nikko, Ohoyama.
1071. BOCANA NIPHONA, But., B. M. 2, p. 56, Pl. 38, f. 9.
Yokohama.
1072. BOCANA TRISTIS, But., B. M. 3, p. 65, Pl. 57, f. 2.
Yokohama.
1073. BOCANA.
Yokohama.
1074. BOCANA INCOGRUENS, But.
Ohoyama.
1075. BOCANA.
Nikko.
1076. TROTOSEMA SORDIDUM, But., A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 449.
Yokohama.
1077. BLEPTINA SPACOLIS, Walk.
Yokohama.
1078. BLEPTINA MOROSA, But., B. M. 3, p. 64, Pl. 56, f. 15.
Yokohama.
1079. BLEPTINA PETRINA, But., B. M. 3, p. 64, Pl. 56, f. 13.
Ohoyama.
1080. BLEPTINA LIGNEA, But., B. M. 3, p. 64, Pl. 56, f. 14.
Yokohama.
1081. BLEPTINA ONERATA, But., A. M. 1879, Dec., p. 447.
Yokohama.
1082. LOCASTRA MARGARITA, But., B. M. 3, p. 66, Pl. 57, f. 4.
Yokohama.
1083. LOCASTRA INIMICA, But., A. M., Dec., 1879, p. 448.
Yokohama.
1084. LOCASTRA AMICA, But., A. M., Dec. 1879, p. 447.
Yokohama.
1085. CIDARIPHERA GLADIATA, But., Dec. 1879, p. 449.
Ohoyama.
1086. CIDARIPHERA.
Nikko.

1087. POAPHILA ? MOLLIS, But.
Yokohama.
1088. MICARDIA.
Yokosuka.
1089. MICARDIA PULCHRA, But.
Yokohama.
1090. MICARDIA ARGENTATA, But.
Yokohama.
1091. CAPNODES CURVIPALPES, But.
Yokohama.
1092. CAPNODES CREMATA, But.
Yokohama.
1093. BITHISIA NOTIGERA, But.
Ohoyama.
1094. MARIMATHA STRAMINEA, But., B. M. 3, p. 9, P. 58, f. 2.
Micrasichus aureas, But., B. M. 3, p. 41, P. 51, f. 4.
Yokohama.
RIVULA SUBROSEA, But., E. S. 1881, p. 4, p. 380.
LOCASTRA ELEGANS, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 581.
SARACA CASTINOTATA, But., E. S. 1881, p. 4, p. 581.
SARACA SUBVIOLACEA, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 581.
OLYBAMA JAPONICA, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 583.
MERANDA INCONSPICUA, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 583.
MARMARINIA OBSOURATA, But., B. M. 3, p. 68, Pl. 57, f. 11.
trimentasalis Wal ?
HERMINIA FENTONI, But., B. M. 3, p. 63, Pl. 56, f. 12.
HERMINIA SICCA, But., B. M. 3, p. 62, P. 56, f. 7.
BLEPTINA AEGROTA, But., B. M. 3, p. 65, Pl. 57, f. 1.
MESOPLECTRA LILACINA, But., B. M. 3, p. 65, Pl. 57, f. 3.
EGNASIA VASAVA, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 582.
EGNASIA FALLAX, But., A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 450.

PYRALIDÆ.

1095. AGLOSSA.
Yozo.
1096. AGLOSSA.
Yokohama.

1097. *GLOSSINA ACHATINA*, But., B. M. 2, p. 56, Pl. 38, f. 10.
Yokohama.

1098. *AGLOSSA*.
Yokohama.

1099. *AGLOSSA*.
Yokohama.

1100. *AGLOSSA MICABILIS*.
Yokohama.

1101. *AGLOSSA*.
Nikko.

1102. *AGLOSSA*.
Yokohama.

1103. *PYRALIS*.
Yokohama.

1104. *PYRALIS FRATERNA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 70, Pl. 58, f. 4.
Yokohama.

1105. *PYRALIS*.
Yokohama.

1106.
Yokohama, Yezo.

1107. *PYRALIS REGINA*, But., A. M. Dec., 1879, P. 452.
Yokohama.

1108. *PYRASIS YOKOHAMÆ*, But., A. M. Dec., 1879, p. 452.
Yokohama.

1109. *PYRALIS VALIDA*, But., A. M., Dec. 1879, p. 451.
Yokohama.

1110. *MICROSCA PALLIDA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 71, Pl. 58, f. 7.
Yokohama.

1111. *MICROSCA EXUSTA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 71, Pl. 58, f. 8.
Yokohama.

1112. *DOTHTHA ICELUSALIS*, Walk.
Yokohama.

1113. *DOTHTHA CONSOCIA*, But., A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 452.
Yokohama.

1114. *DOTHTHA*.
Yokohama.

1115. DOTHTHA.

Yokohama.

1116. DOTHTHA.

Yezo.

AGLOSSA ACHATINA, But., B. M. 3, p. 72, Pl. 58, f. 6.

Mr. Butler has given two species of the family *Pyrallidæ* the same specific name.

DEANA SERICEA, But., A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 541.

PYRALIS ELACHIA, But., B. M. 3, p. 70, P. 58, f. 3.

MICROSCA ARDENS, But., B. M. 3, 71, Pl. 58, f. 9.

PYRALIS NANNODES, But., B. M. 3, p. 71, Pl. 58, f. 5.

Pyrallis valida, But. ?

1117. RHODARIA PLACENS, But., B. M. 3, p. 72, Pl. 58, f. 10.

Yokohama.

1118.

Yokohama.

ENNYCHIIDÆ.

1119. DESMIA STELLARIS, But., B. M. 3, p. 73, P. 58, f. 15.

Yokohama.

1120. ENNYCHIA LIMBATA, But., B. M. 3, p. 73, P. 58, f. 13.

Yokohama.

1121. ENNYCHIA ASSIMILIS, But., B. M. 3, p. 73, P. 58, f. 12.

Fujisan, Nikko, Yezo.

1122. ENNYCHIA.

Nambu, Yezo.

1123. PYRAUSTA.

Yokohama.

1124. PYRAUSTA.

Yokohama.

1125. PRYAUSTA.

Yokohama.

1126. PYRAUSTA.

Yokohama.

1127. PYRAUSTA.

Yokohama.

1128. RHODARIA AMATA, But., B. M. 3, p. 72, P. 58, f. 11.

Yokohama.

1129. PYRAUSTA ?

Yokohama.

ENNYCHIA ASTRIFERA, But., B. M. 3, p. 73, P. 58, f. 14.

ENNYCHIA DIVERSA, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 585.

PYRAUSTA CHRYSITIS, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 584.

PYRAUSTA UNIPUNCTATA, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 584.

AVENTIADÆ.

I have bred most of the species in this group. The larva have six fore and six anterior legs ; they feed on lichen, covering themselves with minute particles of the same. The cocoon is built of lichen and is pendant, mimicking a fragment of this plant. The larva and cocoon of the different species are indistinguishable except for size.

1130. AVENTIA.

Yokohama.

1131. CELEOPSYCHE NITENS, But., B. M. 3, p. 68, Pl. 51. f. 10.

Yokohama.

1132.

Yokohama.

1133. MESTLETA ARGILLACEA, But.

Yokohama.

1134.

Yokohama.

1135.

Yokohama.

1136. SELENIS MIRA, But.

Yokohama.

ASOPHIDÆ.

1137. SAMEA BUTYROSA, But., B. M. 3, p. 73, Pl. 59, f. 1.

Yokohama.

1138. SAMEA EXIGUA, But., A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 453.

Yokohama.

1139. AGROTERA NEMORALIS.

Yokohama.

1140. *HYMENIA EREBINA*, But., B. M. 2, p. 57, Pl. 39, f. 1.
Yokohama.

1141. *HYMENIA RECURVALIS*, Gn.
Yokohama.

SAMEA GRACILIS, But., B. M. 3, p. 74, Pl. 59, f. 4.

SAMEA USITATA, But., B. M. 3, p. 74, Pl. 59, f. 3.

SAMEA COMMIXTA, But., A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 453.

SAMEA MAGNA, But., B. M. 3, p. 74, Pl. 59, f. 2.

HYMENIA TRICOLOR, But., B. M. 3, p. 75, P. 59, f. 6.

ASOPIA MISERA, But., B. M. 3, p. 74, P. 59, f. 5.

STENIADÆ.

1142. *DIASEMIA LITTERALIS*.
Yokohama.

1143. *DIASEMIA*.
Yokohama.

1144. *APURIMA LINEATA*, But.
Yokohama.

HYDROCAMPIDÆ.

1145. *HYDROCAMPA*.
Yokohama.

1146. *HYDROCAMPA*.
Yokohama.

1147. *ÆPIODES COMMIXTA*, But.
Yokohama.

1148. *HYDROCAMPA*.
Yokohama.

1149. *OLIGOSTIGMA VITTALIS*, Brem.
Yokohama.

1150. *OLIGOSTIGMA CORCULINA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 75, Pl. 59, f. 7.
Yokohama.

1151. *HYDROCAMPA*.
Yokohama.

1152. *HYDROCAMPA*.
Yokohama.

1153. HYDROCAMPA.

Yokohama.

1154. HYDROCAMPA.

Yokohama.

1155. HYDROCAMPA. INTERRUPTALIS, W. B. Pryer.

Yokohama.

HYDROCAMPA. CRETACEA, But., B. M. 3, p. 75, P. 59, f. 8.

PARAPONYX TURBATA, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 586.

CATACLYSTA MIDAS, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 585.

MARGARODIDÆ.

1156. GLYPHODES.

Nikko.

1157. GLYPHODES QUADRAMACULALIS, Brem.

Yokohama.

1158. PHAKELLURA INDICA.

Yokohama.

1159. MARUCA AGUATALIS.

Yokohama.

1160. MARGARONIA NEOMERA, But., B. M. 2, p. 57, Pl. 39, f. 5.

Yokohama.

1161. MARGARONIA USITATA, But.

Yokohama.

1162. MARGARONIA.

Yokohama.

1163. GLYPHODES SYLPHARIS, But., B. M. 2, p. 57, Pl. 39, f. 2.

Yokohama.

1164. GLYPHODES.

Yokohama.

1165. GLYPHODES PRYERI, But., A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 453.

Yokohama.

1166. GLYPHODES.

Yokohama.

MARGARONIA INSUITATA, But., A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 454.

SPILOMELIDÆ.

1167. ZEBRONIA ARGYRIA, But., B. M. 3, p. 76, P. 59, f. 9.

Yokohama.

1168. *ZEBRONIA SALOMEALIS*.

Yokohama.

PAGYDA QUADRILINEATA, E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 586.

BOTIDIDÆ.

1169. *CROCIDOPHORA PANTHERATA*, But., B. M. 2, p. 59, p. 39,
f. 10.

Yokohama.

1170. *EBULIS MEMNIALIS*.

Yokohama.

1171.

Yokohama.

1172.

Yokohama.

1173. *BOTYS LUPULINALIS*,

Yokohama.

1174.

Yokohama.

1175.

Yokohama.

1176.

Yokohama.

1177. *MACYNA PRUNIPENNIS*, But., A. M. Dec. 1879, p. 454.

Yokohama.

1178. *AUSTURA STRIATA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 76, P. 59, f. 10.

Yokohama.

1179. *ASTURA PUNCTIFERALIS*.

Yokohama.

1180. *EBULEA AURORINA*, But., B. M. 2, p. 58, P., 39, f. 6.

Yokohama.

1181.

Yokohama.

1182.

Nikko.

1183.

Nikko.

1184.
Nikko.
1185.
Ohoyama.
1186.
Yezo.
1187.
Ohoyama.
1188.
Yokohama.
1189.
Nikko.
1190.
Nikko.
1191.
Yokohama.
1192.
Yezo.
1193.
Yokohama.
1194.
Nikko.
1195.
Nikko.
1196.
Yezo, Nikko.
1197. *CIRCOBOTYS NYCTERINA*, But., B. M. 3, p. 77, Pl. 59, f. 13.
Yokohama.
1198.
Yezo, Nikko.
1199.
Nikko.
1200. *BOTYDES USSURIALIS*, Brem.
Ohoyama.
1201.
Nikko.

1202.
Yokohama.
1203. BOTYS.
Yezo.
1204. BOTYS.
Nikko.
1205. BOTYS VERTICALIS.
Yokohama.
1206. NOMIS ALBOPEDALIS, Mots.
Yokohama.
1207.
Nikko.
1208.
Yokohama.
1209.
Nikko.
1210.
Ohoyama.
1211. BOTYS AUREA, But., B. M. 3, p. 76, P. 59, f. 12.
Nikko.
1212. BOTYS INORNATA, But., B. M. 3, p. 76, Pl. 59, f. 11.
Yokohama.
1213.
Yokohama.
1214. BOTYS ARBITER, But., B. M. 3, p. 77, Pl. 59, f. 13.
This is a variety of *amphisalis*.
1215. BOTYS AMPHISALIS.
Yokohama.
1216.
Yokohama.
1217.
Yezo.
1218. BOTYS CHLOROPHANTA, But., B. M. 2, p. 58, Pl. 39, f. 9.
Yokohama.
1219.
Yokohama.

1220.
Yokohama.
1221.
Yokohama.
1222.
Yokohama.
1223.
Nikko.
1224.
Yokohama.
1225.
Yokohama.
1226.
Yokohama.
1227.
Yokohama.
1228. *BOTYS ATOPALIS*.
Yokohama.
1229.
Yokohama.
1230.
Yokohama.
1231.
Yokohama.
1232.
Yokohama.
1233.
Yokohama.
1234.
Yokohama.
1235.
Nikko.
1236. *PYRAUSTA MINNEHAHA*, W. B. Pryer.
Yokohama.
1237.
Yezo.

1238.
Yezo.
1239.
Yokohama.
1240.
Yokohama.
1241.
Nikko.
1242. CRAMBUS ? SINENSELLUS, Walk.
Yokohama. I believe this to be *Botrididae*.
1243.
Yokohama.
1244.
Yokohama.
1245.
Yokohama.
1246.
Ohoyama.
1247.
Yokohama.
1248.
Yokohama.
1249.
Yezo.
1250. SCOPULA.
Yezo.
1251. PIONEA SODALIS, But., B. M. 2, p. 59, Pl. 39, f. 4.
Yokohama.
1252. SCOPULA FERRUGALIS.
Yokohama.
1253. STENOPTERYX HYBRIDALIS.
Yokohama.
BOTYS JESSICA; But., B.M. 2, p. 58, Pl. 39, f. 6.
BOTYS PROTENSA, But., B. M. 2, p. 58, Pl. 39, f. 7.
SCOPULA TESTACEA, But., B. M. 3, p. 77, Pl. 59, f. 15.
ANEMOSA PRYERI, But., E. S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 588.
PSEUDEBULEA, FENTONI, But., E.S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 587.
BOTYODES INSIGNIS, But., E.S. 1881, pt. 4, p. 587.

THE MAMUSHI.

BY W. C. DE LANO EASTLAKE.

[Read February 11, 1885.]

The snake may have but few admirers : a feeling of aversion is perfectly natural and, under some circumstances, even commendable ; yet great honors have been shown the snake. Uroëus the sacred cobra (*haje*) of the Egyptians, was the form under which all the goddesses were represented, and was also used on the royal head-dress as a symbol of the King as a divine personage, and as the principle of immortality. It was the basilisk of the Greeks, and worshiped by them, the Greek word *basileus* meaning " King." It was also supposed to have the power of " looking any one dead " on whom it fixed its eyes.

In Christian art, the snake figures in Paradise as the tempter ; but in the time of Moses, that great law-giver of the Jews, it was the uplifted brazen serpent that gave new life to those who raised their eyes to the symbol, after having been bitten by the fiery dragons (Numb. xxi, 18). And it was the divining rod of the same biblical hero that turned into a serpent and swallowed all the lesser snakes of the magicians in Pharaoh's court.

This symbol is sometimes affixed to the Cross, and is generally placed under the feet of the virgin, in allusion to the promise made to Eve after the Fall.

The snake is the emblem of wisdom : — " Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves " (Matt. x, 16).

The serpent, too, has been taken as the symbol of Deity ; Plutarch says, " because it feeds upon its own body ; even so all things spring from God, and will be resolved into deity again." As the symbol of eternity, it is represented as forming a circle by holding its tail in its mouth.

The ancient Greeks and Romans used it as typical of guardian spirits, and the figure of the snake was frequently depicted on their altars. In the temple of Athena, at Athens, a serpent was kept in a cage and called "The Guardian Spirit of the Temple."

"If he see a snake unkilld, he fears a mischief," writes Bishop Hall of the superstitious man: and as long ago as 1652, skirmishes between land and water-snakes were supposed to be prophetic of future calamities among men.

Many a curious myth is enveloped in this emblem; many a theological problem hidden under this symbol; and many a quotation could prove the importance of the graceful creature that claims our attention. All nature from the hands of the Divine Artist is worthy of our study.

Let us now take a passing glance over snakes in general.

ORDER, OPHIDIA.—The principle characteristic of this order is an exceedingly elongated body, covered with scales, and either destitute of limbs or provided with very rudimentary ones. Snakes propel themselves by lateral undulations, with the aid of sharp-edged abdominal plates, and loosely articulated ribs, moving with the vertebral column. Snakes are not able to move over a perfectly smooth surface. Many persons have an idea that they are unpleasant to the touch and somewhat slimy; but this is not the case, the skin being dry, and smooth as glass. This skin is shed at regular intervals, several times a year, and comes off in one piece, including the part over the eyes, which, being without lids, may be easily traced in the cast-off skin. At some period before the epidermis is shed, the snake retires to a quiet, and if possible damp, place, where the skin soon loses its usual gloss and becomes opaque, while the eyes grow blind, as the new skin is formed beneath the used-up epidermis. When ready, the reptile selects a forked branch, or the cleft of a rock, and, pressing through, emerges from the old covering, which is left complete and turned inside out behind. The shedding of the skin in a perfect state is a sign of good health; but when removed in shreds, the snake is suffering from some malady. Shortly after this metamorphosis serpents become very sensitive, and more inclined to bite, when disturbed, than at other times. In

a state of repose, serpents generally coil themselves up with their heads resting upon the top of the coil. They are enabled to raise the body for a short time only to about half its length, without any support ; but in a few seconds the raised part falls to the ground. This may perhaps account for current stories about snakes springing at men and beasts. It is true that many snakes, when irritated, remain for some time with their heads erect and moving backwards and forwards ready to strike, but not more than one third of the body is thus elevated. No snake can spring or jump clear off the ground.

It may be thought unnecessary to tell any one to keep two feet away from a *mamushi*, and I think myself that most persons would be better satisfied with a distance of several yards ; but with the largest venomous snake the distance of a common walking stick would ensure safety. There is in India a deadly snake, known as the *Echis carinata*, which is seldom over a foot in length. Should man or beast come within one foot of it, death is certain ; but two feet away, and there is no danger, and the same distance of two feet is sufficient protection from the largest *mamushi*. Most bites are in consequence of persons stepping on the snake.

Some serpents lay eggs ; others bring forth their young alive : these are called viviparous. Others deposit eggs already containing well-developed young : these are called ovo viviparous, and the *mamushi* belongs to this class. However, the egg sometimes breaks within the mother. In this case the young are born alive,—as were eight little ones in my home last October. Neither harmless nor venomous snakes will offer to bite unless they are hurt or driven into a corner whence escape is difficult. Most are timid ; the *mamushi* being an exception. Beyond a hissing and often peculiar drumming noise, snakes emit no sound. Instances are not rare where persons in their proximity have been warned off by this hissing sound, peculiar to the reptile when molested.

The general habits of snakes are much alike in similar climates. When frost occurs, they retire under the ground, or select sunny hill-sides abounding in stones, through which the

rays of the sun can easily penetrate. During this season it is easy to catch them, as they are in a partially dormant state. The collecting-bag, in Australia, often forms a part of the outfit of hunters; and certainly there is considerable excitement in lifting a rock or stone and finding beneath it handsomely colored snakes, lizards or frogs, which, prevented by the cold from making a rapid escape, can be captured with ease. It is in this way that thousands of snakes are obtained for museums and other institutions.

Venomous snakes bite and then let go, while most harmless snakes retain their hold. The wound made by a venomous snake would look thus . . . , and that inflicted by a harmless one, thus : The bite of a harmless snake is severer than that of a poisonous one. Thus, it is difficult to disengage one's finger from between the jaws of an *awodaisho* (*Elaphis virgata*), one of the commonest snakes in Japan. If main force be used, the flesh will be torn badly, as its teeth are turned backwards; in fact, the teeth of all snakes are hook-like, curved backwards, very sharp and designed for retaining, not crushing or masticating, the prey. With few exceptions the palate is furnished with teeth also. Snakes feed mostly on living animals—a few on eggs—but they can exist for months without food or water. The tongue of the snake is long and forked, and serves as a feeler with which to examine objects. Many persons believing that wounds are inflicted by it, mistake it for a sting, and whenever they see a snake thrust it out, immediately regard the reptile as poisonous.

I have here the *mamushi*,¹ —*Trigonocephalus Blomhoffi*, Family *Viperinae*, Sub-Family, *Crotalidae*. It may be taken as

¹ Called *Halys Blomhoffi* by Schlegel, in the *Fauna Japonica*: mentioned by Gunther, in his "Reptiles of India," p. 393; mentioned also by Swinhoe, in the *Proc. Zool. Soc.*, 1870, p. 412; called *Trigonocephalus Blomhoffi* (Strauch) in Prschevalski's "Monogolia," II., p. 52; mentioned under this name by Pere David in *Journal N. C. Br. R. A. Soc.*, VII., 1873, pp. 205-234; also by Dr. P. F. von Möllendorff in his paper on "The Vertebrata of the Province of Chihli."

a typical venomous snake. The total length of the *mamushi* ranges from a little over one, to two feet. The largest specimen in my possession is ft. 1. $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Scales in 21 rows.

Abdominal plates 148, or more.

One anal plate.

Sub-caudals in two rows, 48, or more.

Head, one inch long.

Tail, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Upper labial plates, 7.

Lower labial plates, 10.

Rostral shield, very small.

Anterior frontal shield, large.

Deep groove back of nostril.

Scales of body, lanceolate.

Body, short and thick.

Head triangular and flat, only half the head being covered by shields.

Eyes with elliptic pupils; vertical.

Color, earthy brown, with dark brown circular markings or spots; belly black, but edges of abdominal plate whitish.

Dr. P. F. von Möllendorff speaks of the *mamushi* as a spotted brown viper, and says it has been observed in Japan, Formosa, Mongolia, Chilhi, Sze-chüan and Hiang-hsi. He says that it is the only venomous snake in North China, and very much dreaded by the Chinese, who call it *fei shang-ts'ao* (飛上草), "the snake which flies over the grass;" or *chi-ts'un-tsze* (七寸子), "the seven-inch snake." But the correct Chinese name is *juh* (虺), compounded from two characters standing for "insect" and "to repeat," that is, "the snake which strikes twice," from the idea that it always inflicts two or more wounds.

In Kaempfer's "History of Japan" there is a short description of Japanese snakes taken from Père de Charlevoix' *Histoire du Japon*, "There are but few snakes in this country," he says; "one of the most famous is called *fitakutz* (*hitakuchi*) and *fibakari* (*hi-bakari*). It is of a green color, with a flat head and sharp teeth. It hath borrow'd its name from the length of

Fig. I.

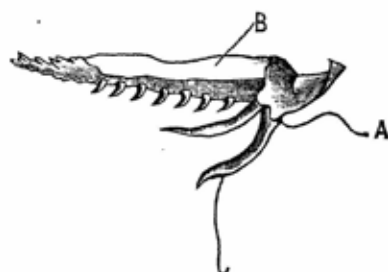


Fig. II.

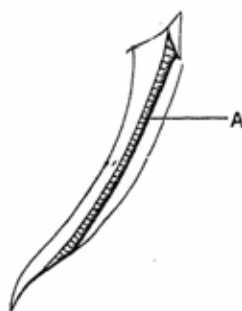


FIG. I. Part of jaw of *Mamushi* (right side) with poison-fangs

A Hair drawn through poison-canal.

B. Part of jaw-bone with teeth.

(3 times natural size).

FIG: II. Section of fang showing poison-canal.

(9 times natural size).



Fig. III.

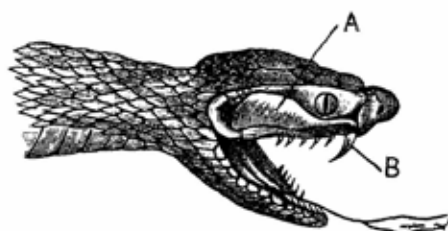


Fig IV.

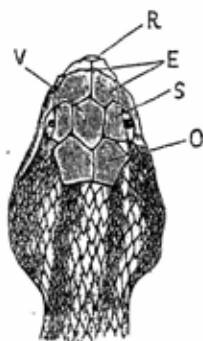


FIG. III. Head of *Mamushi* with skin removed to show the poison-gland.

A. Poison-gland.

B. Fang.

FIG. IV. Head of *Mamushi* from above.

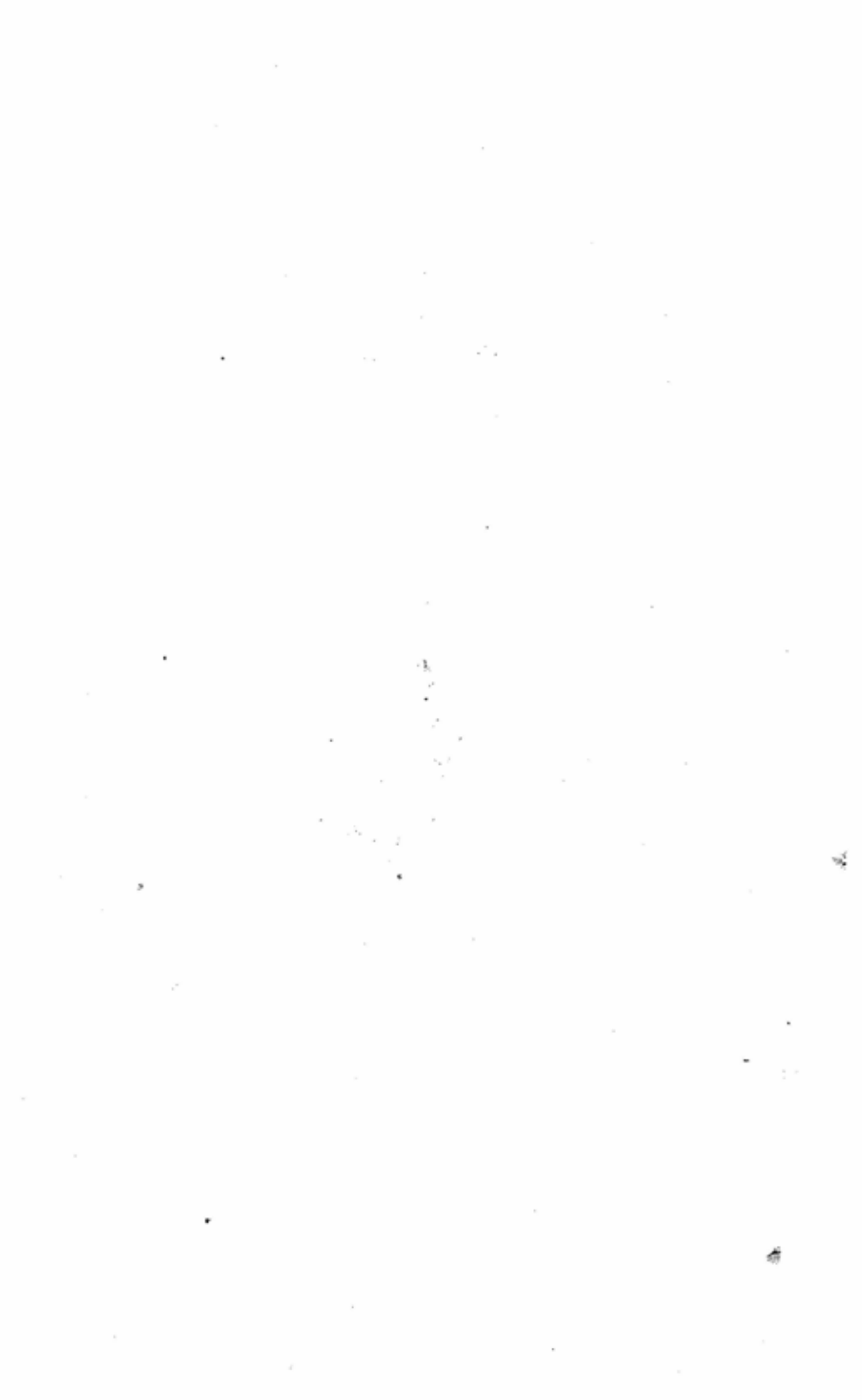
R. Rostral shield.

E. Frontal shields (anterior, posterior).

V. Vertical shield.

S. Superciliary shields.

O. Occipital shields.



the day, or the time the sun stays upon the horizon, because people bit by it are said to die before sunset. Soldiers are very fond of its flesh, which they eat, firmly believing that it hath the virtue of making them bold and courageous. This snake calcined in an earthen pot, hermetically seal'd, gives that powder which they call *gawatsio*, (*go-hachi-so* !), and which is very famous for its virtues in curing several internal distempers. This same powder, put under the gutters of a house, is said in a short time to produce young snakes of the same kind. I met with this snake nowhere else but upon the coasts of Malabar, where I was shew'd some by the Bramins." With the one exception of the color, this description answers almost perfectly to the *mamushi*. The Japanese of to-day eat this snake, esteeming it highly as a febrifuge, its nominal price, during the summer, being about fifteen *sen*. In fact, last summer, while enjoying a vacation near Kamakura, I requested the *dannasan* of the *yadoya* to procure a *mamushi* for me whenever it was possible,—meaning of course living specimens. I was hastily called one day and informed that a *mamushi* was secured. "Bring it," I answered. After some delay the *okamisan* brought in, on a dish, most temptingly served, the veritable snake. I was not long in assuring her that it was not to gratify my appetite that I required snakes, but for study, etc. She then asked whether she might eat it herself, to which request I gave my full consent, agreeing with her statement that it would be a powerful stimulant and just what her system needed. Whilst travelling through the Hakone Mountains, the peasants, frequently answered my inquiries by bringing me the skin of the *mamushi* with the head preserved intact, which they kept in their homes as a charm, and also as a medicament of great efficacy.

The popular belief is that the *mamushi* gives birth to its young through its mouth; it is also stated that the young ones freely play in and about the mouth of the mother-snake, whither they retreat in case of danger. It is scarcely necessary to say that this is a fallacy.

The following data are taken from the great Japanese Encyclopædia, the *Wakan Sandzai Dzu-ye*, vol. 45, fol. 13. "*Hami*

or *mamushi*, the real worm. The chief color is a dark yellow with white spots, somewhat resembling the earth. The *mamushi* has yellow jaws, a sharp mouth, narrow neck, large head and withered tail ; on the nose there are two needles or projections ; it is marked like a piece of brocade. Between the spots or marks there are hairs like the bristles of a pig. The largest *mamushi* are between seven and eight feet long. When born, the *mamushi* is full of the energy of the sun, and for this reason, has sharp teeth(!) When a man is once bitten by a *mamushi* he dies quicker than from the sting of any other poisonous snake. If one is bitten by a *mamushi*, it is best to cut off the swollen parts around the bite with a sharp knife. If the flesh of a *mamushi* is thrown on the ground, the earth in the vicinity begins at once to hiss and steam and, upon inspection, the spot will be found to be burned. It is extremely difficult to cure any one of the wound of this reptile, it is the only one of all the snakes which is truly viviparous. In the months of June and August, when the poison of the *mamushi* becomes unusually venomous, it digs its teeth into some adjacent tree, which immediately withers and dies ; or else it deposits its superabundant poison on the leaves of certain plants. If one happens to touch these empoisoned leaves they cause ulcers known as " snake-spittle-ulcers ;" and this disease is most difficult to cure. Care should be taken with the fat of the *mamushi*, as it eats holes into everything it touches. The flesh of the *mamushi* is sweet, warm and poisonous. The following directions should be observed in preparing it as a medicament :—Put a living *mamushi* in a jar, or some similar receptacle, and pour over it one to of *jin-shiu*, a sort of *sake* ; next, hermetically seal the jar and bury it in the ground where there is some horse-urine. Open it after the lapse of one year, and the *mamushi* will be found to have disappeared, although the *sake* will still taste of the reptile. If a sick person drinks this *sake* he will at once become convalescent. This medicine is especially recommended to leprosy persons, leprosy being caused by a bad spirit ; but the *mamushi* itself is brought into existence through the agency of the *Injo doku retsu-no-ki*, the spirit of poisons ; and thus one poison cures another." So far the *Hondzu ko moku* ; very little truth is to be

gleaned from the amusing superstitions which form so important a part in its pages. The Encyclopædia says further :—"The *mamushi* is usually not longer than two or three feet. Most snakes grow smaller and taper from the head downwards ; but the *mamushi* is all one size, like a thick stick, the tail only being thin and fine. Most snakes lay eggs, but the *mamushi* gives birth to living young ones, and through its mouth at that ; and this fact makes the parturition of the *mamushi* very difficult, as its teeth are so sharp. Some time before bearing, the female goes around biting trees and men, to free herself from her over-sharp teeth. Great care should be taken during those months to avoid the bite of a *mamushi*, especially in thickets and the like. Always crush the head of a dead *mamushi*, or else the reptile moans and whimpers until a crowd of its kind draw near, endangering the safety of any one in the vicinity. But perhaps these *mamushi* may not be really snakes, but only plants which have changed themselves into the semblance of snakes for the time being. This proves very clearly that an evil spirit possesses the *mamushi*. The *mamushi* is fond of haunting the *xanthoxylos* trees, and so its body smells somewhat like pepper. The peasants draw the skin off the *mamushi* through its jaws, whereupon the whole reptile dissolves itself into three parts—skin, flesh, and bones. The meat is pure, and white as snow ; the snake moves, however, even after having been cut to pieces. The meat should be dipped into *ume-dzu* (plum-vingear) and eaten with *tade*—the leaves of the water-pepper, or smart-weed. Thus prepared it has a pleasant taste and strengthens the mind. As a medicament, the *mamushi* is only used in the form of an ash or powder, *kuroyaki* ; this is known as the *go-hachi-so* or *ju san-so*. It cures irregular circulation of the blood and stubborn ulcers. If wetted, the powder takes the form of minute animals. When the female *mamushi* gives birth to her young, the little snakes come out of the mother's mouth tail-foremost, one by one ; so soon as the tail appears, the young one wraps it around some projecting object in the vicinity, a small sapling, or the like, and then pulls itself out of the maternal mouth, having done which it glides away. Opinion is divided as to whether one should

consider the *gwan* and the *mamushi* one and the same species. The learned Jichiu says they are dissimilar. The *gwan* is smaller and has no spots; the larger form, with distinct, brocade-like markings, is the *fuku* (*mamushi*).'' *Fuku*, by-the-by, is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese name *fok* or *juh*. "The *mamushi* found in the neighbourhood of Kinai, near Kiyoto, is a foot, rarely a foot and a half long; while those found in Kiushiu measure fully two or three feet. Both are earth-color, with yellow, red and white brocade-like markings; the *gwan* without spots or markings is of very rare occurrence. The true *fuku*, or *mamushi*, is very courageous. A peasant once found one lying in the road and wanted to kill it, but had no weapon; so he called out to the *mamushi*, 'If you run away you are a coward!' and hastened home to get a weapon. When he returned, there was the *mamushi* waiting for him on the same spot. If one taps it on the head with a stick, the *mamushi* will not attempt to run away, but swells with rage, contracting its body until it is not more than six inches long, and then strikes. So soon as its head is crushed it dies. The *mamushi* has a sting in its tail like that of a bee, but it cannot generally be seen. It sometimes wounds men with its sting, and the wound is very poisonous. Some say it carries a needle-like projection on its nose, but this is probably incorrect. At the same time, many people believe that if one carries this needle in the pocket, it endows the wearer with superhuman courage."

Such are the opinions of Japanese writers, concerning the size and general appearance of the *mamushi*, and many items have considerable accuracy. The unusual irritability referred to in the months of July and August is on account of those months being the breeding season. The advice always to crush the head of a dead *mamushi* is sensible. The fact is, that a *mamushi* whose back has been broken can still inflict an ugly wound, as the reptile, in common with all vipers and adders, is peculiarly tenacious of life. Even after death, if the head is not crushed, the fangs might certainly penetrate the bare foot of a careless pedestrain. The *mamushi* is most frequent in the neighborhood of Kiyoto, also the environs of Yokohama and the

Hakone Mountains ; tolerably frequent in the north, although no authentic fatal case is on record in that part of Japan, as the result of its bite. It seems most poisonous in the south ; but only one authenticated death has come under European observation in Kiyoto.

Death occurs from the cessation of the circulation of the blood in the pulmonary arteries, producing asphyxia, as is the case with all *crotalidae* bites. It is allied to the rattle-snake of America although the development of poison in the system is very much slower than is the case with the wound made by the rattle-snake. The bite of the *mamushi* is seldom fatal, death depending entirely on the size and condition of the snake, the amount of poison in the glands, and the physical state of the person bitten. The *mamushi* is poisonous immediately after birth.

The discharge of the poison is as follows :—When the snake opens its mouth to strike, the fang is pressed forward ; the muscles around the glands, being compressed, force the poison through the hollow tube in the fang, and it is thus ejected. It not unfrequently happens, when the *mamushi* is in good condition and has not bitten any one for some time, that the mere act of striking at an object causes a discharge of the poison, which may be observed as a fine stream spurting from the fang, without its having been actually imbedded in any substance. There are several interesting features in this poison fang of the *mamushi* which it may be well to explain. In some snakes, the poison canal lies in a groove on the back part of the tooth or fang, but among the *crotalidae* the canal runs through the fang. For the reason of this peculiarity we must look at the embryo snake, and here we find that the poison canal is quite distinct from the fang, running some distance from it ; and it is not until some time later that the fang closes around the poison canal. Thus while in many venomous snakes, especially some Australian species, the canal lies simply in the groove of the fang, in the *mamushi* the fang grows completely around the canal. This tooth or fang may be aptly compared to the needle of a hypodermic syringe. The tooth has, under the microscope, a flat, elliptic, sharp-pointed extremity, and is curved inward

The canal opens at the front of the tooth some little distance above the point; as the snake opens its mouth to *strike*, the gland is compressed and the canal filled with venom. So soon as the fang is withdrawn from the wound, the vacuum formed by its sudden withdrawal sucks the poison into the wound, and as the wound is merely a minute punctured slit, the skin closes over it so soon as the fang is removed, the poison being thus securely held in the recesses of the wound. It is for this reason that all external applications are absolutely without value. Immediately upon the venom being absorbed by the capillary vessels which the fang has pierced, the blood (both the red and white corpuscles) becomes greatly agitated, presses through the vessels, and gathers in large quantity around the wound. Death is caused by cessation of circulation of the blood in the pulmonary arteries, for which no satisfactory or definite reason has as yet been assigned. The poison of the *mamushi* bears a similarity to human saliva, although the poison gland is not a salivary gland. It is an organic poison similar to *crotaline*—rattlesnake poison—and might therefore be called *mamushiine*.

It may be interesting to refer to the reported results of some experiments with the poison of the rattle-snake, by Dr. Lacerdo of Rio de Janeiro. His experiments lead him to state that the poison glands of the rattle-snake contain so-called "modelled" ferments, tiny bodies which have a strange resemblance to *bacteria*. The celebrated Dr. Pasteur, on the contrary, declares that there are no modelled ferments or *bacteria* in the poison of the rattle-snake. Again, Dr. Lacerdo also examined the blood of animals which had been killed by rattle-snakes, and found, under a powerful microscope, that the red corpuscles had undergone a certain change. On the surface of the red corpuscles he remarked certain minute shining spots, which spread from side to side with great rapidity, whereupon the corpuscles seemed to melt into each other, forming a sort of amorphous dough which could no longer circulate through the veins. But the results of many experimenters show that the red corpuscles undergo no change whatever. The metamorphosis observed by Dr. Lacerdo, however, may have been caused by a *change in the*

blood-~~plaques~~. There is still opportunity for, and the need of, further scientific investigation.

The Japanese doctors of the old school simply apply a salve, or tobacco juice, or some unguent to the wound,—which of course, can produce no effect whatever. No external application can possibly prevent the absorption of the poison. The only treatment is this, particularly when a person has been bitten where scientific aid cannot immediately be obtained, and is perhaps without water or a knife :—Suck the wound, if possible at once ; apply a ligature above the bite, lacerate the punctures, and wash the part with water or urine ; keep moving, and do not despond. Half the number of fatal cases result from fear ; many persons lose heart and do not attempt to tie a ligature, and are afraid to lacerate the wound and suck it. Dr. Albert Günther, F. R. S., the ablest of living herpetologists, says : “ In ninety-nine out of a hundred cases the wounds are inflicted on the hands or feet, and a ligature or two should be made as tight as possible at a short distance above the wound ; the ligature to be left on until the proper means are provided to destroy the virus in the wounds, and until medicine is taken internally, or until great pain or swelling necessitates its removal. The punctured wounds are to be enlarged by incisions at least as deep as the wounds, to cause a free efflux of the poisonous blood, and to facilitate its removal by sucking. The wounds to be sucked by the patient himself, or by another person whose mouth is free from wounds. Cupping-glasses will be found very useful. Ammonia should be rubbed into the wound, and be taken in large doses internally also from one to three glasses of the *eau de luce*, or from one to six glasses of brandy at short intervals. The learned Doctor thus concludes :—“ In all accidents caused by bites of snakes, the action of the heart is much affected ; its contractions become feeble, the respiration difficult, and the patient feels great anguish, or sinks into a fainting state. To prevent a complete collapse it is necessary to use these strong excitants, and to repeat them until the alarming symptoms are allayed.” Courage runs in the wrong channel, however, when it shows itself in chopping off the wounded toe or finger—a very foolish and a very dan-

gerous thing to do. Dr. Disse furnished me with one instance, which occurred in the Hakone Mountains, where an European was bitten in the finger and none of the proper remedies employed. A Japanese doctor treated the case about an hour after the wound had been inflicted, but prescribed only a salve of some sort. Fortunately the case did not terminate fatally. The finger and lower part of the arm swelled rapidly, extreme inflammation set in, with subsequent ulceration of the parts around the wound. The lymph-glands, even to the large axillary glands ulcerated; the whole arm was greatly swollen and discolored and very painful; high fever set in, necessitating the patient keeping his bed. With proper attendance, it took nearly two weeks to reduce the hand and arm to normal size. After which, the whole skin of the forearm peeled off. For four months the entire arm was lamed and practically useless. In view of the symptoms in this case it may be possible that the bite of the *mamushi* can cause the mortification of the wounded member, and this fact may have given rise to the belief prevalent in Kiyoto, and elsewhere, that the limb bitten by a *mamushi* invariably falls off. In eating, the *mamushi* does not make use of its poison fangs. It has been ascertained that they refuse to eat anything which they have previously killed with their venom. The *mamushi* is fond of the vicinity of bamboos, and may be found in mossy, leafy localities.

The following cases were kindly furnished me by Mr. H. Pryer: "The first occurred to a chair coolie who was carrying a lady along one of the grassy narrow paths between here (Yokohama) and Negishi. The man was bitten in the leg, and immediately tied his head-cloth tightly around his leg above the wound; his leg swelled considerably, and he did not recover from the effects of the bite for a fortnight.

"The second case was far more serious. I was hunting near a village called Mochi-i, in Tosa, not far from the borders of Iyo, and had six hunters with me. One of them, an old man, was bitten in the outer part of the left foot while walking among grass on a mountain slope. About half an hour after the occurrence he came and informed me of the fact, and I immediate-

ly cut the wound with my penknife and tied a ligature above the ankle, and sent him back to the village. He could then walk, and nothing particular seemed to be the matter with him: but some distance before reaching home he had to be carried down the mountain. I left the village next day, but was afterwards informed that he lingered for two days and then died. I attribute this in the first place to his having allowed the poison to work into his system without doing anything, and secondly to his advanced age,"

DISCUSSION.

Mr. W. C. de L. Eastlake exhibited a number of specimens; among others, the skeleton of a *mamushi*, its poison fang, and the medicine prepared from the snake by the Japanese. He also illustrated the manner in which the snake is secured while the poison is extracted.

The President, in conveying the thanks of the Society to the author for his highly interesting and amusing paper, drew attention to two points of the greatest practical value to all—namely, how to recognise a *mamushi*, and how to treat the wound should a wound be inflicted.

Mr. F. W. Eastlake.—It may not be amiss to add a few words with regard to the philological derivation of the term *mamushi*. The word is almost always written ideographically, 蝮 pronounced *fuku*; but *mamushi* is itself a pure Japanese word. The Chinese character, as has already been stated, denotes a "worm which strikes twice," but the signification of the term *mamushi* is not so readily intelligible,—the meaning of the syllable *ma*, in particular, being somewhat obscure. Some writers, notably Mr. F. V. Dickins, state that *mamushi* means "horse-insect." This is possible, for there are such well-known compounds as 馬草 *mabusa* and 馬子 *mago*, in which the syllable *ma* stands for "horse;" still I cannot conceive of a train of argument which could lead any one to suppose that the snake in question ought to be called a "horse-insect." One or two writers believe the syllable *ma* denotes "diabolical," or "fiendish" (魔); this would be an essentially Japanese compilation, and may very probably have been the original sense of the *ma* in *mamushi*. A third explanation, which I think most plausible, is that *mamushi* stands for 眞 and 虫, so that the term denote the "real worm," or "true worm," in the sense of the "most dangerous of worms." There are several compounds in the Japanese language in which this *ma* is employed:—as in *ma-shiroi*, "perfectly white;" *ma-higashi*, "exactly east," etc.

THE VENDETTA OR LEGAL REVENGE IN JAPAN.

BY J. DAUTREMER.

[Read February 11, 1885.]

Legalised revenge once existed in Japan. The word "legal revenge" may appear somewhat strange to us; personal revenge being absolutely interdicted by European laws. But going back to the middle ages, we see that our ancestors and the Japanese of those days did not differ so much as might have been expected. We find, indeed, especially on this subject, many points of resemblance. What were the ordeals or so-called judgments of God, and what were all the murders and assassinations of which our history is full, which seem monstrous now, but which at that time seemed perfectly legal and natural?

The desire of revenge is indeed an innate sentiment in man, and in all the primitive civilizations we find personal revenge existing as a prescriptive right. It was only in times very near to us that the right of taking private revenge was withdrawn—the interests of society coming before those of the individual. Even still, the duel, indeed, which is after all nothing but a sort of vengeance, though interdicted in principle, is in certain cases tolerated in fact.

The special feature of legal revenge in Japan is, that it was exercised in virtue of an authorization which emanated from what was virtually the Government; and, once obtained, permitted to the avenger his own choice of means. In Europe, on the contrary, it was to the forms, not to the principle, that regulations were applied. Assassinations and ambushes, though not always punished, were always reprobated.

Revenge was, in effect, a right in Japan; nay more, it was a duty. For not only was the man who revenged himself regarded as a man of honour, but further, the man who was weak enough not to try to put to death the murderer of his father or his lord, was obliged to flee into hiding; from that day, he was despised by his own companions.

The mention of an unavenged grievance is indeed rare in the Japanese annals, and the shame which it entailed is distinctly portrayed in the story of the revenge of Oishi Kuranosuke and his forty-six companions. "To avert suspicions and make it appear as if he had forgotten his duty, he went to Kioto, where he abandoned himself to women and *sake*. One night a Satsuma-man recognised him, and seeing him in such a state lying in the street, spat in his face, insulting him as a beast without fidelity, not worthy to be called a samurai, as he had not the courage to avenge his lord!"

From this example, we may conclude that the vassal who avenged not his suzerain was as much despised as the son who avenged not his father. Indeed, from the Japanese constitution of the house, the men-of-arms, or servants—whether *kerai*, samurai, or *karo*—were all considered as members of their master's family,—inferior members, no doubt, but still attached to the house.

Not only did man consider it a duty to avenge his family or his lord, but woman herself did not fail before the task. Of this, Japanese history gives us many examples. Here we read of the daughter of a nobleman or of an peasant avenging the death of a member of her family; and there, of a servant avenging the death of her lady. For instance, one very popular tale is the story of Miyagi and Shinobu, who in the 17th century (Gokomei 1644-1654)¹ avenge the murder of their peasant father, slain by a daimio's *kerai* (retainer).

So firmly fixed in the national mind was the *vendetta* as a legitimate action, so sacred a duty was it considered, that a man who died before having found his enemy, bequeathed to his

¹ Miyagino Shinobu Katakuchi 宮木野忽敵討

son the task of searching for and killing him. It was the most important of the last hour's recommendations, and it was never forgotten. Nor was that all. The duty was transmitted from sire to son till the enemy's head could be laid on the tomb as an offering to the ancestor's *manes*, or till death came and removed the insulter from the avenger's hate. Sometimes, indeed, the feud was carried on against the descendants.

II.

In carrying out his sacred duty of revenge, was the man free to do as he liked? In the beginning, at least most probably, he was; but nevertheless, even in the old times, history shows that the man who revenged himself by assassinating his foe, was reprehensible. For instance, in the story of the Soga's² revenge, the sons of Kawatsu Saburo revenge their father, killed by Kudo Suketsune, a keraï of Yoritomo, by surprising their enemy in a hunting party. They are found guilty; but the reproach is not the revenge itself, but the way in which it was accomplished.

To make the revenge perfectly legal, the avenger had to observe certain formalities and regulations. He must present a complaint to the chief of the clan; get authorization to search for and slay the enemy, and obtain a letter certifying his identity and indicating the name of his own clan, and the purpose of his search. Thereafter, if all had been carried out in perfect order, the particular mode in which he slew his enemy was of no consequence. The story of the vengeance of Iwami during the 16th century gives us the full details. "When he was perfectly sure of recognising his enemies, he asked his suzerain for authorization to pursue and kill them; moreover, he asked for a safe-conduct. All these formalities having been observed, he went and killed his enemies, who are three in number, the father and his two sons."³

Also in the story of the vengeance of Miyagi and Shinobu spoken of above, we read in somewhat similar terms: "They

² Go to ba no in (Shogunate of Yoritomo) Gen riaku, 1st year
後鳥羽院元暦元年

³ Iwami ichi daiki 岩見一代記

asked their suzerain for authorization to revenge the death of their father, killed by Shiga Danshichi; and at once the suzerain ordered the *kerai* to be brought into the presence of the two sisters, who immediately killed him.⁴

We see then that the principal thing was the acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the grievances. But possibly by reason of unavoidable circumstances, such as distance from his clan, the injured man might not have the time or opportunity to go through all those formalities. In that case, should he meet his enemy and kill him, he would go and report the fact to the daimio of the clan where he happened to be. The revenge thus became perfectly in order. An instance of this is given in the story of the revenge of Miyamoto Musashi, the celebrated fencing master of the time of Minamoto no Iyemitsu⁵ (1623), and a *kerai* of Ogasawara, lord of Kokura in the province of Bizen. "Miyamoto having encountered his enemy on the way, struck him and killed him. Having revenged himself in that manner, he narrated what he done to the daimio of the province, who instead of blaming, congratulated him and sent him back in security to his lord's territory."

Although the way in which the enemy was killed was of no importance, provided one had observed all the formalities and had obtained the necessary authorization, yet the manner generally adopted was the duel. Sometimes the two adversaries met alone; and sometimes formed along with their friends two rival parties. The acts of vengeance of Iwami and of Miyamoto Musashi were of this nature. Occasionally, however, the act of revenge was a simple assassination.

III.

From what time do these rules and formalities date? It is difficult, indeed almost impossible, to say. Personal revenge certainly exists from very early times in Japan, as in all half-barbarian countries. Here, as elsewhere, we should find an in-

⁴ Go Ko mei Tenno Kei an, 2d year 後光明天皇慶安二年

⁵ Miyamoto bu yu den 宮本武勇傳

jured individual killing the man who insulted him, or a son killing the assailant of his father; but that is not the most interesting aspect of the present question. The really curious point is that this usage subsisted even in the midst of the Japanese civilisation, and not only subsisted, but had a legal sanction. Revenge it is true, was only proclaimed a duty by Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty, but it was legal in the people's eyes a long time before the edicts of the celebrated shogun.

As one example among many we may mention the revenge of the two sons of Hayase, kerai of Uchita Tōtomi no Kami, who revenged the death of their father, killed by Tōma Saburō yemon, another kerai of Tōtomi no Kami under the shogunate of Minamoto no Yoriye⁶ (1202). The story of this revenge is one of the most curious of that time. The two brothers did not succeed at first, and the eldest was killed. An old kerai, Koyemon by name then accompanied the younger brother Anjiro. For six years they searched for their enemy, wandering through all the provinces, begging their rice as they went. They were obliged to hide their swords in a bamboo, so that they might not have the shame of being recognised as samurai under the clothes they wore.

The revenge of the sons of Soga dates from 1186; that of Iwami, too, is anterior to the edicts of Iyeyasu, for it is dated from 1586, the time of Hideyoshi's death.

These examples are enough to show that before revenge existed in the written law, it was a distinct feature in the national life; and those who pursued their enemies in this way became renowned.

As has been said, it was the Shogun who instituted it as a rule. "Instituted" is perhaps hardly the correct term, since what it is the fashion to call the Legacy of Iyeyasu is not a code of laws, but merely simply recommendations. Nevertheless, it is there that we find the following prescriptions:—

"In what is concerning the revenge to be exercised against the man who killed your father or your lord, it is expressly writ-

⁶ Ten gai cha ya 天笠茶屋

ten by Confucius that you and your enemy cannot live together under the same heaven.

"In consequence of that the man who has an act of revenge to do must at first notify it to the Court of Criminal Justice, which must neither prevent him from accomplishing his desire nor obstruct him in its execution. Whatever be the case, it is prohibited to kill his enemy by raising troubles or in a riot.

"The individual who revenges himself without notifying it to the Court of Criminal Justice, must be considered as a wolf, and his punishment or pardon will depend on the circumstance."⁷

Revenge was thereafter a rule which all men of arms worthy of that name could not neglect. At one time the timid ones could always find some pretext for not prosecuting their enemy: the ordinances of Iyeyasu made shirking impossible. What was once a privilege, left somewhat to the discretion of the injured one, became now an obligation,

What effect had these decrees of the great statesman upon the people's mind? Certain it is, that during the Tokugawa rule there were more murders committed and duels fought under the pretext of vengeance than in any other age. It seems almost to have been an amusement.

The mere enumeration of these sanctioned deeds of honour, the fightings, duels and assassinations even, would be long indeed. At the present day they form the subjects of the most popular tales of the Japanese, and are among the most striking events of their annals.

⁷ In Mr. F. Lowder's version of the so-called Legacy of Iyeyasu, the words run;

"Cap. LII.—In respect to revenging injury done to master or father it is granted by the wise and virtuous (Confucius) that you and the injurer cannot live together under the canopy of heaven.

"A person harboring such vengeance shall notify the same in writing to the criminal court; and although no check or hindrance may be offered to his carrying out his desire within the period allowed for that purpose, it is forbidden that the chastisement of an enemy be attended with riot.

"Fellows who neglect to give notice of their intended revenge are like wolves of pretext; and their punishment or pardon should depend upon the circumstances of the case."—[J.S.]

Take, for example. the well known story of the Forty-Seven Ronin. Their action in our eyes is nothing but a treacherous lying-in-wait; and still, according to Japanese ideas, it is held to be the act of famous warriors whose renown is without blemish. We can see at Yedo their tombs well preserved, and incense burning before the stones on which their names are engraved. And when the Yedo theatre represents the drama of the revenge, the people collect in crowds and applaud frantically.

The celebrated duel of Miyamoto Musashi is more in accord with our own ideas, for it was an equal fighting. Miyamoto meets Sasaki Guranri, his enemy and rival at fencing, fights with him and kills him on the road. Sasaki was specially skilled in attacking the legs of his foe, but Miyamoto, knowing his adversary's trick, jumped in the air, and so escaped, his *hakama* alone suffering damage.

Another famous tale is the revenge of Kazuma, son of Watanabe Yukiiye, keraï of Ikeda, Inaba no Kami, against Kawai Matagoro, son of Kawai Matazayemon, another keraï of Inaba no Kami. Those three examples will suffice, more being quite superfluous. Any who wish to see how much the *vendetta* was prevalent in Japan should read the voluminous book called *Shokoku Katagi uchi Ni hon Musashi Kagami* (諸國敵討日本武士鑑).⁸

These few examples may enable us to understand the peculiar nature of Legal Revenge in Japan; what it was, and how the avenger accomplished his task.

But that is not all. It might readily be believed that, when once the enemy was dead, everything was ended; but it was not so. After the deed was done, the avenger had to go immediately to the nearest guard-house, and there explain the circumstance of his revenge. He was interrogated on the details, asked for his name, the name of his clan, and of his lord. He had to give satisfactory proof that he was authorized to exercise his revenge against so and so. He was detained there till the inquiry ter-

⁸ Iga goi sô dō 伊賀越騒動

minated, and his revenge acknowledged as accomplished according to the rules; and then he was released.⁹

V.

This act of revenge was always considered in Japan as a perfectly honourable action. Although only enacted as a law in the decrees of Iyeyasu, it was imposed as a custom even before his time.

Nowadays there is not a single trace of it left. It has vanished quite, along with so many other of Japan's ancient usages. A decree only was sufficient, and legal revenge ceased to exist.

In this as well as in other things, if we wish to know Japan as she was, we must look into the records of the past.

The imperial decree abolishing legal revenge is expressed as follows:

"Decree No. 37. Assassination being absolutely prohibited by the law of the empire, the Government's duty is to punish an individual who kills another.

"According to ancient habits, it was an obligation on a son or younger brother to revenge a father or elder brother. Although this view is natural enough, nevertheless, the personal interest must not lead one to transgress the law and despise the public powers by revenging himself. Whoever so acts cannot be pardoned, the more especially because in that case it is impossible to know who is in the right and who in the wrong. Therefore, from this day, no one shall have the right to avenge or pass judgment for himself. If, unfortunately, some one has done wrong towards a member of your family, take your complaint and explanations to the authorities; but do not follow the ancient custom, or you will be punished according to law.

"7th day, 2nd month, 6th year Meiji (7th February, A. D., 1873).

(Signed)

"DAI JO KWAN."

⁹ Sin kio ho shu roku, Tempō, 6th year 神橋報警錄天保六年

DISCUSSION.

The President, in thanking the author for his valuable paper, referred especially to the so-called Legacy of Iyeyasu, which he understood was believed to be, by those best fitted to judge, of really much later date. The legacy was simply a reduction to writing of the traditional popular law on the subjects ; and to give it the necessary authority, it was referred by a legal fiction to the heroic days of Iyeyasu.

ON THE VARIOUS STYLES USED IN JAPANESE LITERATURE.¹

BY BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN.

[Read March 18, 1885.]

The grammatical structure of a language defines the possibilities of the style to be adopted by those who use that language as the vehicle of a literature. Take the familiar instance of Latin. How did Horace ever come to write such lines as

*Mc fabulosæ, vulture in Appulo,
Altricis extra limen Apuliæ,
Ludo fatigatumque somno
Fronde nova puerum palumbes
Texere, etc., etc.,*

and thousands like them, where as a rule each adjective accompanies the noun to which it does *not* belong, and where the whole construction resembles a Chinese puzzle? Simply because of the case terminations which make it possible in Latin, without becoming absolutely unintelligible, to separate each word from the others to which it logically belongs. A modern Italian or Frenchman could not write so obscurely, even if it were his special wish to do so. The simple fact that his language distinguishes no cases of nouns or adjectives helps in so far to make him clear, whether he will or no.

¹ In the preparation of this paper much use has been made of the information given in Vols. III and IV of Mr. Sakakibara's "*Bungei Ruian*", a work almost indispensable to the student of Japanese style, though, like most native authorities, it is at once redundant and deficient when judged by European standards.

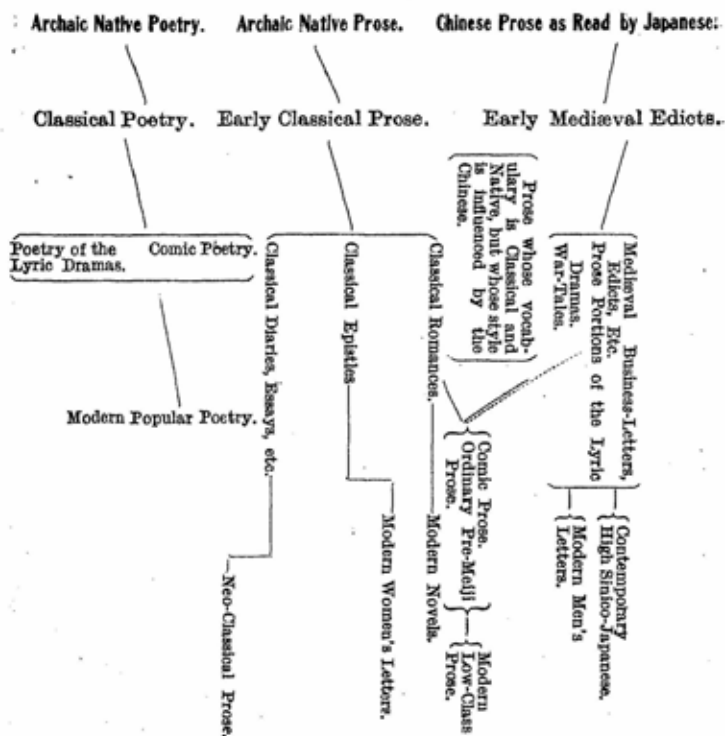
This just by way of illustration. Other factors no doubt may, and generally do, come in. Style is influenced by the caprices of fashion or of individual writers, and in poetry by the requirements of metre. It is more particularly influenced by the imitation of ancient or of foreign models. Thus it happens that few languages are written exactly as they are spoken. Thus too it happens that the same language sometimes presents the phenomenon of several divergent prose styles being used simultaneously, while in other cases a nation's style both in poetry and prose changes suddenly in the course of a decade. Just think of Milton's having lived to witness the literature of the Restoration! Still the fact remains that authors are unconsciously guided and limited by the grammar of the tongue they write in. Japanese style is a good illustration of the truth of these remarks. During its whole career it has been influenced by the diametrically opposite style and grammar of the Chinese. It bears traces of this influence, no doubt; but it has always remained itself, that is to say, it has always remained what the grammar of the language perforce makes it.

One of the fundamental rules of Japanese construction (and it is also the fundamental rule of construction in Korean, Manchu, and the other Altaic tongues) is that the whole of a statement, however complex it may be and however numerous its parts, must be made in one sentence whose members are all grammatically interdependent. The verbs are arranged so that the terminations indicating mood and tense come only at the end of the sentence. Similarly if there are several subordinate clauses, only the last member of a set of such clauses receives its distinctive termination, and even such conjunctions as "because" and "but" are turned into terminations which are suffixed to the last of the series of verbs whose meaning they help to particularize. The mind is thus kept in suspense as to the main drift of the sentence while the minor details are being gradually unfolded, the final verb being necessary to clear up the intention of all that went before. In fact a Japanese sentence is a paragraph, or rather an organism. Thus a Japanese bookseller's advertisement will not say "The first volume will be published in January,

and the second in March," but it will run something like this : " The first volume in January having been published, the second in March published will be " ;—so that until reaching the future particle at the end of the second clause, the reader does not know whether the January referred to in the first clause is next January or last January. This instance is an extremely simple one. The normal Japanese sentence, both in writing and in speaking, is much more lengthy and involved. But our English idiom refuses so stubbornly to lend itself to such complications, that it is difficult to translate an ordinary Japanese sentence literally so as to give an idea of its construction to persons whose knowledge of languages is confined to the Aryan, Semitic, or Indo-Chinese groups. Thus the grammatical rule enforcing the use of participles instead of verbs in the indicative mood, and the further rule which requires that what is least important must come first and what is most important last, make it almost impossible for Japanese or for any Altaic language to be anything but tedious and obscure. The introductory details only obtain their full meaning when viewed in the light of the final verb. But when the final verb is reached, one is apt to have forgotten the introductory details. Writers and readers of Altaic sentences should have good memories and much patience.

So much by way of introduction. Some such general considerations seemed a necessary preface to the tabular view of Japanese style in its various subdivisions, which is given on the next page. Their object is to show that Japanese style, like other things, rests on certain broad principles, and is not a mere accident. The branches into which it has gradually become divided are as follows. Other minute divisions might of course have been made ; but they would, it is thought, obscure the subject instead of elucidating it :—(*For Table see following page.*)

A glance at the table will show that all Japanese styles can be traced to one or other of three sources, which are : the Archaic native poetry, the Archaic native prose, and Chinese prose as read by the Japanese. Chinese poetry may be dismissed as having had little or no influence outside the circle of those who, to the present day, go on composing it in imitation of the same an-



cient Chinese models. But there is an influence which was scarcely possible to indicate in the table, and which must be mentally supplied. That influence is the influence of the Colloquial, constantly tending to the unification of all styles and constantly tending to obliterate the traces of Chinese grammar, though not of Chinese vocabulary. Let us take the various styles, partly in order, partly grouped according to natural affinities. Let us briefly indicate their characteristics and the books in which they may be studied to best advantage :

1. ARCHAIC POETRY AND PROSE.

(Materials of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries of the Christian era, though not published till the eighth to tenth centuries).

The sole difference between poetry and prose at the dawn of Japanese literature consists in the presence of a loose kind of metre in the former and of occasional inversions. The vocabulary is purely native, or, if here and there a Chinese word has introduced itself, it is so well disguised in native form that its foreign origin has never been admitted by the Japanese literati of the orthodox school. Indeed these traces of Chinese in Archaic Japanese had apparently escaped the attention of European philologists, till pointed out two or three years ago by an English student of the two languages.² Grammatically, Archaic Japanese is distinguished by its rigid adherence to the complicated construction referred to in the introductory remarks to the present paper. A sentence takes away one's breath. On the other hand the rule governing the fourfold distinction of verbal and adjectival forms into "Adverbial," "Conclusive," "Attributive," and "Perfect"³ is not yet fully developed. The best prose examples of Archaic Japanese are the "*Norito*" or Shinto Rituals, some of which have been translated and elaborately commented upon by Mr. Satow in Vol. VII, Pts. II and IV, and IV, Vol. IX, Pt. II of these "Transactions." In poetry there are the Songs contained in the "*Kojiki*" and "*Nihongi*," and those forming Vols. I and II of the "*Manyoshu*." Of these the most accessible to the European student are the Songs of the "*Kojiki*," as there exists a literal English translation.⁴ For short specimens of the Archaic and most of the other styles, the Second Appendix to Mr. Aston's "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," 2nd edit., and also Chapter X of the same work, may be consulted with great advantage.

II. CLASSICAL POETRY AND THE LATER STYLES DERIVED FROM IT.

In the earlier Classical poetry the Japanese language is seen in its perfection. The vocabulary is still almost purely native,

² See Vol. X, Supplement, p. lxx of these "Transactions."

³ See Aston's Grammar of the Japanese Written Language, 2nd edit. pp. 89 *et seq.*

⁴ Vol. X, Supplement, pp. 343 *et seq.* of these "Transactions."

but Archaic terms have been dropped, while the grammar has been regularised. The short stanza of thirty-one syllables, which is the form almost exclusively used, effectively counteracts the lengthiness inherent in Altaic style. Indeed brevity is its greatest characteristic. Wit, in the higher sense of the word, is however absent, being only represented by an occasional *jeu-de-mots*. The most charming examples of the Classical Poetry are to be found in the "*Kokinshu*" or "Odes Ancient and Modern," on which the "*Kokinshu Uchigiki*" is the commentary most to be recommended. There is also the foreign translation mentioned in the note below.⁵ The Comic and Modern Popular Poetical styles are simply the Classical style corrupted to some extent by Colloquial influences. Chinese words have crept in, the metre is irregular, the spelling faulty, the grammar sometimes a little faulty. But the endeavour of the writers is always to be as Classical as they can. Their chief failings are want of originality and a perpetual search after puns. The *vers de société*, which until a recent period every educated person was obliged to be able to compose, are mere centos of Classical compositions. There are two chief schools. One of these takes the "*Kokinshu*" as its model; the other imitates the Archaic style of the "*Manyoshu*." Pupils also imitate their teachers, so that we arrive at having imitations of imitations. Indeed it could not be otherwise; for every thing that can be said with the traditional poetical phrases has been said, and every thing that can be done with the unpliant metre has been done. It is difficult to see whence any new life is to come unless it be from the treasure-house of Europe. European poetry is a new and gorgeous fairyland at whose gate the Japanese are only now beginning to knock. Meanwhile the best contemporary Japanese verse resembles the best Japanese calligraphy. The late poetess Toseko, for instance, had the same archaic dash in her verse as in her pen. Indeed good penmanship and good poetry are supposed

⁵ "Altjapanische Frühlingslieder," by Dr. R. Lange. This is a metrical translation of the odes contained in the first two books of the *Kokinshu*.

to be natural companions, neither requiring the least originality. The student desirous of making himself acquainted with these later Japanese poetical styles may consult some of the works mentioned below.⁶

The chief characteristic of the poetical portions of the Lyric Dramas (*No no Uta*) is the very extended use made in them of a peculiar device for joining together two different but not discordant ideas. It consists in employing a word having two meanings in such wise as to form a sort of pivot on which two wheels turn, so that while the first part of the poetical phrase has no logical end, the latter part has no logical beginning. Though so extraordinary an idiom would be ridiculous, if it were feasible, in any European tongue, there can be no doubt that it adds greatly to the dreamy beauty of the Japanese compositions in which it is used. Moreover the taste for long sentences can be thus gratified without any fear of obscurity. Between the various editions of the Lyric Dramas there is little to choose. There is no complete commentary. The only European translations are those mentioned in the note below.⁷

III. CLASSICAL PROSE AND MODERN NOVELS.

In point of grammar there is no difference between the prose and the poetry of the early Classical age. But soon the prose style developed a fondness for Chinese words, which were doubtless imported into it from the Colloquial. Many of them are Buddhist terms, showing the influence of Buddhism at that time. In the "*Genji Monogatari*" the Chinese words form an appreciable portion of the whole vocabulary, whereas in the Classical poetry there are only half a dozen instances, such as *kiku* (Chinese *chu*), "a chrysanthemum," and a few other names of trees and

⁶ "*Fuzoku Monzen*," "*Bandai Kyokashu*," "*Seikoku Ruisan*." Besides these there are of course the songs of the present day, which are not collected together into any special work. The first signs of a new departure in the direction of Europe is to be seen in the "*Shintai Shisho*" by Messrs. Toyama, Yatabe, and Inoue.

⁷ Free metrical versions by the present writer in his "Classical Poetry of the Japanese" of the pieces entitled "*Ha-goromo*," "*Sesshoseki*," "*Kantan*," and "*Manju*."

flowers.⁸ Many of the terms borrowed from the Chinese have a corrupt form in this same Classical prose, thus *teike*, instead of the more correct *tenki*, "weather," which in later times has supplanted it. Others show a preference for the so-called *Go* pronunciation, thus *nechi* for *netsu*, "fever." By the end of the tenth century of our era the Colloquial contractions of the "Adverbial" forms of adjectives began to invade the prose of the day.

The best example of Early Classical prose is Tsurayuki's celebrated "*Tosa Niki*," or "Diary of a Voyage Home from Tosa," and anonymous translation of which appeared in the "Japan Mail" during the months of January, February, and March, 1882. Mr. Aston has also given a summary of it, with a few extracts, in Vol. III, Pt. II of these "Transactions." The "*Genji Monogatari*" shows what may be termed the Middle Classical period in its perfection, and is considered by the Japanese themselves to be the culminating point of their literature. Unfortunately there is no European help towards reading it, as the volume entitled "*Genji Monogatari*" published by Mr. Suematsu Kencho is scarcely even a paraphrase of the original. The style of the "*Genji*,"—for that, and the contents of the book, is here our subject,—is extremely difficult, the complications and the obscurity of the Japanese sentence showing themselves to the very full. We also notice a tedious heaping up of Honorifics. "Condescend," "design," "honourable" and similar words recur at every instant. Indeed, were all the Honorifics retrenched from the "*Genji*" and from the other romances which constitute the greater part of the Classical Prose of Japan, the bulk of this prose would be materially reduced. Thus, if one august personage insults another, it is expressed somewhat after this

⁸ An examination of twenty pages of the "*Kogetsusho*" edition of the "*Genji Monogatari*," taken at random throughout the work, show an average of 2.85 Chinese words per page, the page not containing much matter. Only one of the pages examined has no Chinese words at all, and only two have more than four, so that these twenty pages probably represent with fair accuracy the diction of the entire book.

fashion: "A condescended reverentially to insult B."⁹—Another subdivision of the Classical Prose consists of Essays or Miscellanies, such as the "*Makura no Soshi*" and the "*Tsurezure-gusa*." These are somewhat more modern in spirit, but the form is the same. The curious reader should refer to the "*Makura no Soshi*" for the best examples. Like the "*Genji*," this book was written by a woman; but it shows feminine style to better advantage,—its talent for penetrating observation, its wit tempered by tenderness. Most of the Classical Prose is "feminine" prose in the most disparaging sense that can be given to that term.

The style used in modern novels descends from that used in Classic times. The vocabulary is much more deeply tinged with Chinese; but the same influence and that of the Colloquial have tended to the simplification of the grammar and construction. Modern Japanese novels are easily intelligible. Unfortunately they are dull. Bakin's works, so much belauded, are a terrible trial to the conscientious European student, with their thirty, forty, or a hundred volumes.

IV. MODERN WOMEN'S LETTERS.

Little need be said on this head. As will be seen by reference to the table, the style of women's letters in use at the present day descends directly from that in use by both sexes in Classical times. It is marked by its servile politeness and by the use of a number of peculiar expressions, such as the following:

<i>on ka-moji,</i>	for <i>haha</i> , "mother."
<i>on iso-moji,</i>	" <i>isogashii</i> "busy."
<i>o ki-moji sama,</i>	" <i>kinodoku</i> , "sorry."
<i>umi-yama,</i>	" <i>taku-san</i> , "very," "much."
<i>medetaku kashiku,</i>	"with joy and trembling (a formula used at the end of letters).

⁹ The average number of Honorifics throughout the entire work is (as appears from an examination of twenty pages) 6.9 per page; but it is much greater in the passages where mention is made of the doings of exalted personages. Remember too that a page of the already mentioned edition contains very little matter.

The termination *moji* observed in several of the above is simply the Chinese word 文字, "written character." On *ka-moji* thus means literally "the honourable character mother," and similarly in the other examples.

Length and not brevity bring the quality sought after, the ordinary verb *naru*, "to be," is supplanted by the compound *mairase-soro*, signifying literally "to send as a present and be in attendance upon." This strange, and in practice meaningless, compound is suffixed as a termination to almost every verb when used in that we should call the first person, e.g. *zonji-mairase-soro*, "I think"; *moshi-age-mairase-soro*, "I beg to state".

V. PROSE WHOSE VOCABULARY IS CLASSICAL JAPANESE, BUT WHOSE STYLE IS INFLUENCED BY THE CHINESE.

The influence referred to shows itself chiefly in the constant use of antithetically balanced phrases. Thus: *Aruiwa hana wo kou tote tayori naki tokoro ni madoi, aruwa tsuki wo omou, tote shirube naki yami ni tadoru*, etc., i.e. "Either wandering in pathless places to search for flowers, or else groping in gloomy darkness to await the moon." And again: *Haru no ashita ni hana no chiru wo mi, aki no yugure ni ko no ha no otsuru wo kiki*, etc. i.e. "Seeing the blossoms flutter down on a spring morning, and hearing the leaves fall on an autumn evening." These phrases which occur in the celebrated Preface to the "*Kokinshu*," are typical of the style in question. The Preface to the "*Kokinshu*" has been partially translated by Dr. Lange in his work cited already.

VI. NEO-CLASSICAL PROSE.

Mabuchi, one of the great Shinto scholars of the last century, paved the way for this style, and Motoori perfected it. Since the latter's death, that is during the last eighty years, it has remained the favourite vehicle for prose treating of religious, poetical, and antiquarian subjects generally. It is seen to perfection in such works of Motoori's as his Prolegomena to the "*Kojiki*" ("*Kojikiden*," Vol I), his "*Tama-katsuma*" and his "*Kerkyojin*." It may be described as Classical Japanese touched by

the modern spirit. The touch was magical. Sentences were still long, but they were not lengthy. In Motoori's hands they even became so clear that it is never necessary to read one of them a second time in order to understand it. Grammatically faultless, and perfectly pure in diction, Motoori's writings avoid monotony by the dexterous use of particles which alter (so far as that is possible in Japanese) the rigid rules binding the construction. Unfortunately his followers have committed the usual error. They have simply repeated his word instead of imbibing his spirit. The consequence is that at the present day Neo-Classical Japanese is fast becoming fossilized, and can consequently have little or no influence in the future. Perhaps indeed a truer criticism would describe it as having been from the beginning a mere *tour-de-force*, and therefore destined to early and inevitable disuse. It is certainly a significant fact that it has never been successfully employed except in dealing with subjects connected with Japanese antiquity. Its vocabulary is old Japanese. So it is naturally when treating of Old Japan that the insufficiency of this vocabulary is least felt. The latest development of Neo-Classical Japanese is the style adopted by some of the members of the "*Kana no Kuwai*," whose wish it is to revive the old language and to perpetuate indefinitely the use of the old *Kana* spelling, which no longer represents the pronunciation.

VII. CHINESE PROSE AS READ BY THE JAPANESE, AND THE EARLIER SINICO-JAPANESE STYLES DERIVED FROM IT.

This is the most curious branch of our subject. Indeed the literature of the world has probably no stranger example of the reception accorded to a foreign tongue. On crossing to Japan in the train of Buddhist priests and Korean pioneers of civilization, Chinese was accepted as an absolute norm, and was as absolutely misunderstood in so far as style and grammar are concerned. The Japanese thought they were adopting it unchanged. In reality no process of metamorphosis was ever more complete. Let us enter into particulars. Chinese has no inflections. Its construction is like that of the simplified English

which we call "Pidjin English." Its sentences are all short and terse. Indeed they are, so to speak, fragments of sentences stuck together without cement. The result is the most pithy of styles—a style of which in Europe the "*style coupé*" of Victor Hugo and other contemporary French writers is the nearest analogue. The difference between this simple style and grammar and that of the endless participles through which a Japanese sentence goes meandering on its way is glaring. It is so glaring that the Japanese seem to have been dazzled and could not see it. They imposed their complications and their long-windedness on the short and simple Chinese texts, tentatively perhaps at first, but soon according to a regular method. This method consists in transposing the Chinese so as to suit Japanese idiom. Not only is the place of individual words altered, but numbers of short sentences are combined into one long one with the usual array of participles marking suspended clauses. Take for instance the following passage from Mencius. The philosopher is depicting to one of the Chinese feudal kings of his time the advantages to himself of governing justly, in a passage which Dr. Legge renders thus :

"Now, if your Majesty will institute a government whose action shall all be benevolent, this will cause all the officers in the empire to wish to stand in your Majesty's court, and the farmers all to wish to plough in your Majesty's fields, and the merchants, both travelling and stationary, all to wish to store their goods in your Majesty's market places, and travelling strangers all to wish to make their tours on your Majesty's roads, and all throughout the empire who feel aggrieved by their rulers to come and complain to your Majesty. And when they are so bent, who will be able to keep them back?"

The Chinese text and its Japanese reading are as follows :

能欲天行商耕仕今
 觀赴下旅賈皆者王
 之懇之皆皆皆皆發
 於欲欲欲欲欲政
 王疾出藏耕立施
 其其於於於於仁
 若君王王王王使
 是者之之之之天
 孰皆塗市野朝下

*Ima o matsurigoto wo hasshi, jin
 wo hodokoshi, tenka no tsukōru
 mono wa mina ō no chō ni tatan ko-
 to wo hosshi, tagayasu mono wa mi-
 na ō no yu ni tagayasan koto wo hos-
 shi, shōko wa mina ō no ichi ni
 kakusan koto wo hosshi, kōryo wa
 mina o no michi ni iden koto wo
 hosshi, tenka no sono kimi wo niku-
 man to hossuru mono wa mina ō ni
 omomuki-uttaen koto wo hosseshi-
 men. Sore kaku no gotoku naraba,
 tare ka yoku kore wo fusegan ?*

The literal renderings of the Chinese and Japanese are, as nearly as possible, as in the two following parallel columns :

Now the-King institute gov-
 ernment to-exercise benevolence:
 cause the-Empire's official
 people all wish to-stand in the-
 King's court, ploughing people
 all wish to-plough the-King's
 fields, merchant dealers all wish
 to-store in the-King's marts,
 travelling strangers all wish to-
 go-out on the-King's roads,
 Empire's wishing accuse their
 princes people all wish to-come
 complain to the-King.

This like that, who can
 restrain them ?

Now the-King, government
 having-instituted, benevolence
 exercise-if,—the-Empire's of-
 ficial people as-for, all the-King's
 court in stand-will that to-wish,
 ploughing people as-for, all the-
 King's fields in plough-will that
 to-wish, merchant dealers as-for
 all the the-King's marts in store-
 will that to-wish, travelling
 strangers as-for all the-King's
 roads on go-out will that to-wish,
 the-Empire's their princes ac-
 cuse-will that to-wish people
 as-for, all King unto come com-
 plain-will that to-wish cause-will
 [i.e. "will cause the officials to
 wish to stand in the King's
 court, the agriculturists to wish
 to plough in his fields," etc., this
 verb "cause" placed at the end
 of the sentence affecting all the
 other verbs from the very begin-
 ning].

This thus be-if, who well them
 restrain can ?

The difference between the two styles,—simplicity and consequent clearness on the one side, and complication on the other,—is patent. Only it should be remarked that in the above instance the Chinese sentence attains to a very unusual length, whereas the Japanese sentence is much shorter than most of those to be found in books written by the Japanese themselves. The passage therefore scarcely does justice to the peculiarities of the two styles. The difference between them should be more marked still.

Various small signs and numbers written alongside the Chinese text serve to guide the Japanese reader in his transpositions and grammatical embellishments. The Japanese pursue their strange plan even in the reading of poetry. Needless to say that the rhymes and the whole metre of the Chinese are hopelessly lost. It is as if the words of a Latin poem, instead of being read in the Latin order, were to be inverted so as to suit English syntax, the English student all the while imagining himself to be reading Latin verse in the proper way. For Hirata, one of the greatest of Japanese literati, asserts in so many words that a foreign language *cannot* be read intelligently except in this manner. Unless the verb be (Japanese-fashion) at the end of the sentence, there is, according to him, no sensible human speech !

It is not difficult to trace the later developments of the Sinico-Japanese style, whose foundations were thus laid in the peculiar method adopted by the Japanese for reading the Chinese classics. The first effect was to introduce a Chinese tinge into compositions intended to be purely native. Thus, as has been already noticed, it became the fashion to use the artificially balanced antitheses of which the Chinese writers are so fond. But the first Sinico-Japanese properly so-called is to be found in the edicts of the early mediæval age. Intended for pure Chinese by the men who composed them, these documents soon became impregnated with "japonisms." The less the culture of the writer, the more numerous were the japonisms. For this reason purity of style is not always an indication of age. The following passage from a work entitled "*Kojidan*" (古事談), written in the latter part of the 15th century, is comparatively pure, the only marked japonisms being the few words that are underlined :

典藥頭紀國守長谷雄
 春宮御服病之令合
 芒消黑丸兼申云此
 御藥服御後可令惱
 亂給然而遂可有其
 驗云々聞食之後令
 悶絕給略中次宮平安
 御服病永愈云々後
 日國守謂云宮若御
 命終者國守不可存
 歟トテ出醫道畢於
 子孫永不傳其傳云

Three hundred years earlier the Shogun Yoritomo writes thus:

武士之上洛候事者爲令追討朝敵候也朝敵
 不候者武士又不可令上洛武上又不令上洛
 者不可致狼藉候歟而敵人隔海之間于今不
 遂追討經廻之武士國國庄々無四度解事其
 聞多候仍追討以後可令沙汰之由雖存思給
 候近國者爲令糾定使者二人所令上洛候也
 其以前不覺者候只守院宜相副御使爲廻行
 計候不然者令進退候者定似自由之沙汰候
 歟募賴朝威士濫妨事令停止候之許也子
 細勤狀給使者候畢以此旨可令申沙汰給候
 恐々謹言

三月四日

賴朝

謹上藤中納言殿

This passage would be simply unintelligible to a Chinaman, so replete is it with errors and japonisms of every sort. The

The reader will observe the recurrence of the words *soro* and *koto*, so common in the Modern Epistolary style. Indeed the modern epistolary style used by men descends directly from the style used in such mediæval documents. Hence its extraordinary divergence from the style of women's letters. Down to about the twelfth century men seem to have employed the same style as women in their familiar correspondence. It was at that time only for public despatches that they had recourse to the more formal Sinico-Japanese, of which Yoritomo's letter is a specimen.

As the Middle Ages went on, so did Sinico-Japanese depart further and further from its Chinese original. Such passages as the first of those just quoted might possibly be made out by a Chinaman. The second could not; and the war-tales of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the prose dialogue of certain portions of the Lyric Dramas belonging to the same age would be worse than nonsense to him. Indeed their authors no longer even intended to write Chinese. The Colloquial, in which they thought, had led them back into writing Japanese. At the same time the Chinese, in which they had been accustomed to write, had deeply influenced the Colloquial. The result of this interaction is very clearly seen in the style used first in the Lyric Dramas and afterwards commonly in books to do duty for the Colloquial, it being considered impossible to write the latter exactly as it was spoken. Here, as in men's letters, the word *soro* (literally "to be in attendance on") and the still more polite, but untranslatable equivalent *boza soro*, is used as a termination suffixed to almost every verb, and all sentence are cast in one out of two or three fixed moulds. In the Dramas, where the prose portions are short and adroitly intermixed with poetry, the impression produced is one of stately regularity quite in keeping with the grave demeanour of the actors in their long court robes. It reminds one of a line of marble statues, hard and cold, but grand. In letters, on the contrary, where there is no change of form from beginning to end, it becomes very tedious to have every clause ending either with *soro*, *soraeba*, or *soraedomo*. The constant recurrence of Honorifics also is wearisome.

The early Mediæval style may be studied in such war-tales as

the "*Taiheiki*" and the "*Hogen Monogatari*." From it descends the ordinary prose of the period preceding the arrival of foreigners in Japan. But so touched is this prose by native influences, that has been thought that the truest way to give an idea of its relative position in the table is to show it as having the triple origin there indicated. The result of the mixture was not happy. The ordinary pre-Meiji style may be described in one word, which word is "flatness." Sometimes the matter saves the manner,—for instance in a few of Arai Hakuseki's works. But, as a rule, style and subject conspire together to send the reader to sleep. The lowest depths of this style, or absence of style, are reached in the penny dreadfuls of the present day.

The Comic Prose alone, which began to make its appearance in the latter part of the seventeenth century, occasionally shows real literary skill. The Japanese themselves divide it into two epochs or schools, termed respectively *haikai-bun* and *kokkei-bun*. The gradations thus indicated are partly gradations of time, but more specially gradations in the comic. At first "comic" perhaps is scarcely the appropriate word by which to describe this manner of writing. "*Negligé*" or "unconventional" would be better. The strict method, the unrelenting seriousness, of ordinary Japanese prose is abandoned. The author unbends, as he would do in Europe. The gay is mingled with the grave in essays that sometimes almost remind one of Charles Lamb. Of this earlier school Yayū, who flourished about a century and a half ago, is the king. The name of the work by which he is known to fame is the "*Uzura-goromo*," an unequal compilation containing several delightful bits. After his time the delicate humour, that had pleased the generation to whom humour in any form was new, gave way to colours more thickly laid on. The second period, which begins roughly speaking with the present century, is one of genial comic buffoonery. This period is seen at its best in Ikku's well-known "*Hiza Kurige*," or "*Shanks's Mare*," by far the most entertaining of Japanese books, and one in which the author's versatile genius expresses itself in almost every style, from passages that remind one of the Classics to others where full play is given to every provincial brogue. Unfortunately this

amusing book is often extremely indecent,—a characteristic which, though it should not exclude it from the consideration of the countrymen of Swift and Smollett, does perhaps make one hesitate to recommend it to the readers of our more prudish days. Be this as it may, we are now only concerned with style and with literary talent. From that point of view, the present writer would incline to grant to Yayu with his delicate touches of humour and pathos, and to Ikku with his colloquial and Rabelaisian vigour, a place not very far from the steps of the throne on which Motoori sits supreme. Ikku is the Hokusai of literature.

VIII. CONTEMPORARY SINICO-JAPANESE, OR THE MEIJI STYLE.

On being brought into contact with European thought by the political events of the years 1853 to 1867, Japanese style experienced a great change : it veered suddenly back towards China. This apparent anomaly has a very simple explanation. Chinese was the only fund on which Japanese could draw to coin equivalents for European scientific and other technicalities, just as we ourselves have recourse to the old Greek for such new words as “homeopathy,” “dynamite,” “telephone,” etc. In proportion as Japan drifted away from the Chinese spirit, so much the more did she appropriate to herself the Chinese vocabulary, until of recent years it has come to such a pass that an ordinary Japanese prose document has scarcely anything Japanese about it save a few particles and the construction of the sentence. Chinese idioms,—such idioms, for example as the rhetorical question and the employment of double negatives forming an affirmative,—recur at every turn. Chinese compounds of as many as three or four characters are introduced. The result is a language capable of expressing every shade of thought required by modern civilization, excepting perhaps certain modulations of poetry. That is the good side of the Meiji style. But there is a reverse to the medal. Addressing itself chiefly to the eye, it distresses the ear by its countless homonyms. Thus there are no less than 10 characters in common written use all pronounced *chu*, 28 pronounced *so*, 54 pronounced *ko* ! A dozen characters to a sound is a normal allowance. Even when such homonyms are compounded, the

listener always has several possible meanings to choose from. Who can tell the meaning of the numerous *ko-chu's*, *chu-ko's*, *ko-so's*, etc., unless he have the characters before him? Moreover a close acquaintance with the form and pronunciation of the characters, as well as with their signification, is a necessary preliminary to either reading or writing this style. The present generation of Japanese authors has therefore purchased expressiveness at the cost of ease. Perhaps it should be added that, after all, the difficulty to the Japanese themselves is not quite so great as it appears to foreign students, who commence the study of characters at an age when the memory has lost most of its power.

Such then is the present state of things. Or rather, no: one important factor has been omitted. It should be added that the influence of European tongues has begun to make itself felt in Sinico-Japanese,—English influence especially. English phrases and idioms are often literally translated. One result is to increase the stock of imagery at the disposition of Japanese writers, for comparisons which are commonplaces to us are delightfully fresh to them. Grammatically, in so far as it has been felt at all, English influence has been unfavourable. Our crisper way of writing is lost on the Japanese. All that they do is to translate our sentences literally into their own tongue, making the construction of the latter more cumbrous even than it was before.

One word as to the prospect ahead. What is to be the future of Japanese style? There are indications of a new change, as violent as the change of twenty years ago, but in the opposite direction. This time too it is from an unexpected source and from a very strange source,—from the impending introduction of the Roman alphabet. It might be supposed that alphabet and style have nothing to do with each other. The alphabet, it will be said, only affects the way words are written; style means the way sentences are put together. This is not altogether true, in Japan especially. The introduction of the Roman alphabet into general use must, if it takes place, influence style very deeply. The homonyms thrive in the atmosphere of the Chinese characters. Were phonetic spelling to be substituted for the characters, they would cease to be intelligible, and would speedily perish. There

is therefore much truth in the assertions of those who hold that Japanese cannot be written in Roman. The style of current contemporary literature and epistolary correspondence certainly cannot be so written. The question is : is the style likely to be changed ? Will men consent to give up a vehicle of expression which speaks with such beautiful terseness to the eye, which has interwoven itself with every act of public business and private life, and whose difficulties are to a great extent veiled by long familiarity ?

The reason which makes the present writer think that the movement against the Chinese characters may succeed is that it is not an isolated one. It is part of a whole which is manifestly succeeding. The Japanese have altered their government, done all sorts of things with their religion, revolutionized their laws, turned their old social ideas (and many of their moral ideas) upsidedown. Such things to them are trifles. While therefore Englishmen spend decades in making up their minds whether they will or will not drop the *u* from such words as "honour" and "favour," it would be not at all unprecedented for the Japanese to take the enormous step of substituting alphabetic writing for their ideographs. The men who are working for the change are the same men who in other paths have already led the country on to solid results.

It is always dangerous to prophesy. But if some surmise must be made, the present writer would hazard one to the effect that, if the Roman alphabet is adopted, a prose style somewhat similar to that current before the Meiji period, and exemplified by Arai Hakuseki's easier works, will probably be the result. Of course it will have a strong tinge caused by literal translation from the English. Possibly too there may be more writing in the Colloquial than at present, though there is no indication to that effect. In any case, the fundamental characteristics of lengthiness and complication remain the same to-day as at the very dawn of the nation's literature. It is not a cheering prospect from an esthetic point of view. At the same time no sensible well-wisher to Japan can do otherwise than applaud the efforts of those who are striving to introduce the Roman alphabet.

Style can take care of itself. The essential thing is the subject-matter; and there can be little doubt that the subject-matter of modern European education can be most easily taught here through the medium of the Roman alphabet. The years now spent in acquiring the Chinese characters could then be devoted to the acquisition of Western arts and sciences, to things instead of words.

I
DISCUSSION.

Rev. Mr. Summers, in a few words of criticism, gave it as his opinion that the Japanese would find it impossible to do away with the Chinese ideographs, at least in the higher styles.

Mr. J. C. Hall expressed his admiration of the extremely valuable paper which Mr. Chamberlain had read to them. Commenting upon the word *soro*, so constant a termination to verbs in the prose of the Lyric Dramas and of Epistolary Correspondence, he noted that the tendency of a word to lose its proper meaning was shown in our own and related tongues in the development of the verb "to be." He agreed with Mr. Chamberlain that the Meiji style would disappear with the introduction of the Roman letter. Romanization was no doubt a great undertaking. When we consider, however, that the Japanese have made an intelligible and flexible language out of the combination of such diverse materials as Chinese and Japanese, we can have no fear that they are not able for still higher things, and amongst others for this much-needed reform.

The President conveyed the thanks of the Society to the author for his valuable contribution to the Society's Transactions.

NOTES ON THE "ITACHI" AND "CORVUS JAPONENSIS"

By H. PRYER.

[Read March 18, 1885.]

The "Transactions" of this Society contain two papers on Natural History subjects, contributed by Dr. D. Brauns, who for a short time was attached to the Tokiyo Daigaku as professor of geology.

As I find these papers are calculated to mislead readers, who are not sufficiently acquainted with the subjects of which they treat to detect the absurdity of the conclusions arrived at; and further, as they are put forward in a lengthy and pretentious manner, requiring refutation in unmistakable terms, I have put together the following notes, which are, I think, to the point.

I am quite at a loss to understand why these papers were written, and also how any one claiming the *slightest acquaintance* with natural history could have ventured upon publishing them.

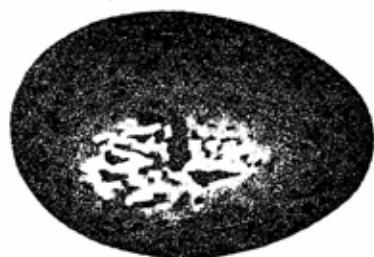
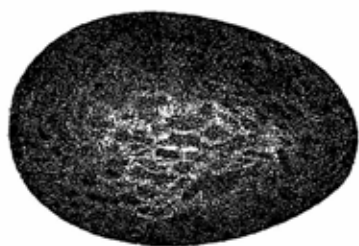
The first paper is headed "On the Systematic Position of the *Itachi* or *Mustela itatsi* Temmink and Schlegel," read 8th June, 1880, and is accompanied by a plate, somewhat roughly drawn.

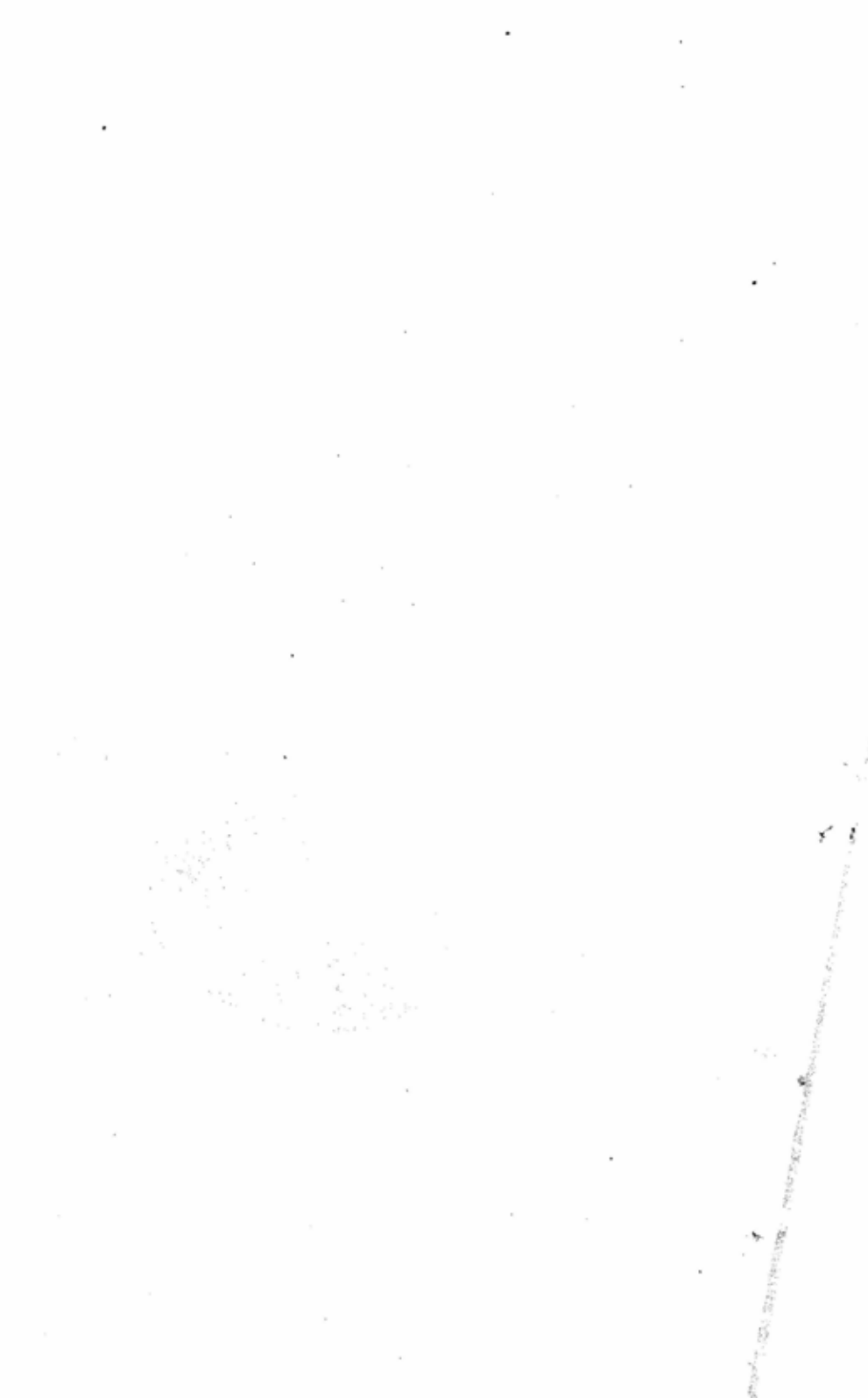
Fig. 1 gives the impression that the highest part of the skull of the *Itachi* is in the region over the eyes. This is not the case, the highest part being near the base.

Fig. 2 is altogether faulty. The skull really tapers off at the base, instead of being broadest there, as figured, and I can only come to the conclusion that these figures represent the skull of some animal entirely different from the *Itachi*.

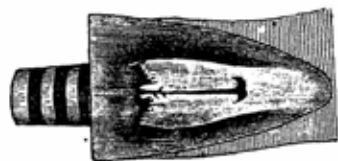
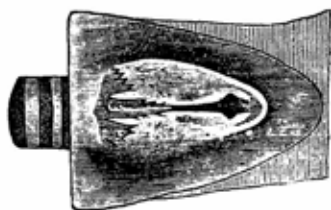
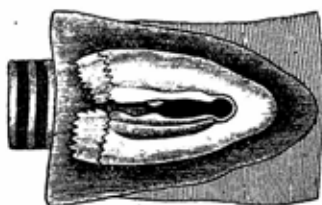
With regard to the generic affinities of *Mustela itatsi*, con-

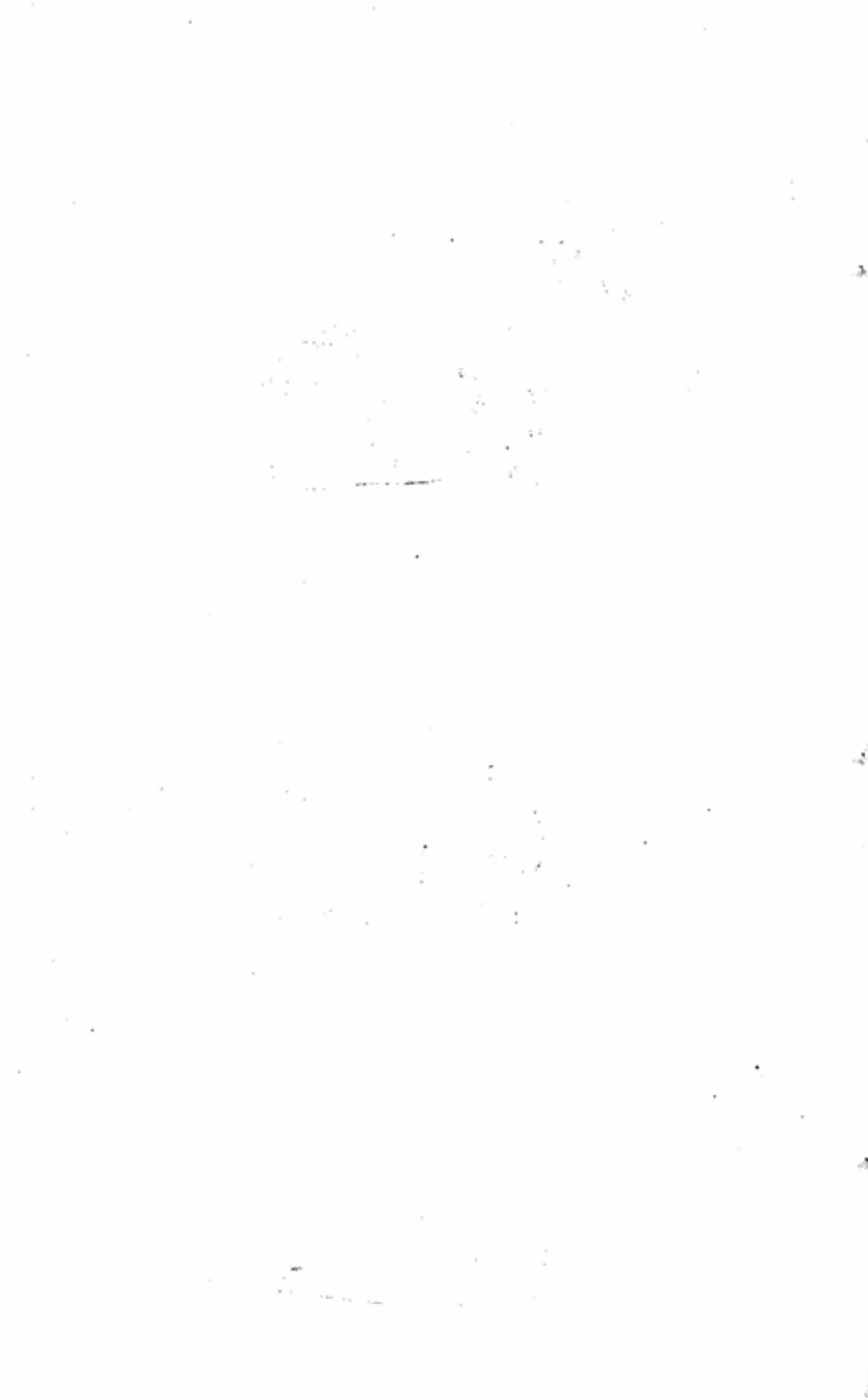
A.





B.





cerning which Dr. Brauns has so much to tell us (10 pages), he has unfortunately been anticipated by Dr. Gray of the British Museum, who twenty years ago investigated the subject, P. Z. S., 1865, p. 117, who then showed that *Mustela itatsi* is not separable from the Siberian Mink (*Putorius sibericus*), and therefore Dr. Brauns' laborious paper is superfluous and might be dismissed without further remark, except that Mr. Oldfield Thomas of the British Museum informs me that *Mustela itatsi* is quite distinct from *Putorius lutrola*.

Dr. Brauns adds a note about bears, on which he is also mistaken. Neither the grisly nor polar bears are found in any part of the Japanese Empire.

The second paper is headed "On the *Corvus japonensis*, Bonaparte, and its connection with *Corvus corax*, L."

Dr. Brauns here labours under the disadvantage of having had his paper translated by a gentleman who does not claim any special knowledge of ornithology, and I will therefore pass over certain incongruencies of wording which are apparent from the first line and all through the paper.

Dr. Brauns' paper takes up 12 pages of the Society's "Transactions," and a plate is also attached.

Fig. 1, stated to be the skull and beak of *Corvus japonensis*, is far more like *Corvus corone*, and I have a strong impression that it was figured from the head of the last named species.

Fig. 2 and 3 are also nearly half an inch shorter than my specimens of Kuril ravens.

Nearly 100 specimens of *Corvus japonensis* from different parts of Japan have passed through my hands, and I have had exceptional opportunities of observing the bird during the past fourteen years, and can confidently assert that it does not resemble *Corvus corax* either in size, shape, voice or habits. Neither as far as Capt. Blakiston's or my own experience goes, does *Corvus corax* occur in either the Main Island or in Yezo, all the specimens of this bird (numbering seven) having been procured from the Kuril Islands.

I find it difficult to add anything to the note on page 141, Vol. X, Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan, concerning the difference

between *Corvus japonensis* and *corax*, but append measurements of specimens now before me.

	WING.	BEAK.
<i>Corvus corax</i> (male) from Usushiya	17 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.	3 in.
" " " "	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.	3 in.
" <i>japonensis</i> (male) from Shikotan	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
" " " " Tokiyo	14 in.	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
" " " " Yokohama	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
" " " " "	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.	2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
" " " " "	14 in.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

In *Corvus corax* the crenulated feathers extend from the chin covering the whole of the crop : this is never the case with *Corvus japonensis*. The crenulated feathers in this bird only extend a short way down the neck.

The beak of *Corvus japonensis* is far more arched than in *Corvus corax*, and the sheen of the plumage of the latter is entirely different from *Corvus japonensis*.

The tail of *Corvus corax* is cuneiform ; that of *Corvus japonensis* half round, i.e. fan-shaped.

Mr. A. J. Smith fortunately obtained two specimens and a nest of five eggs of *Corvus corax* during the past season on the Island of Usushiya (Kurils) and most kindly presented them to me. The nest was placed in a ledge of a cliff about twenty feet from the base. It was a large structure, composed of drift sticks, grass stalks and roots. I have frequently taken the eggs of *Corvus japonensis*, and always find the nest placed in a tree. The eggs of *Corvus corax* from Usushiya do not differ in any way from English specimens, and are markedly larger than any specimens of *Corvus japonensis*, of which I have a large series.

In the accompanying plate I have figured my largest specimen of the eggs of *Corvus japonensis* and one of the above named eggs of *Corvus corax*, and also the upper portion of the larynx of *Corvus corax*, *japonensis* and *corone*. These figures decisively prove the birds to be perfectly distinct, a matter concerning which no one, except Dr. Brauns, entertains the slightest doubt.

There is no ground for supposing that the Kuril specimens are either exceptionally old or large ; indeed the latter is not the

case, as the measurements of our specimens correspond with those given in Yarrell's British Birds of *Corvus corax*, which are not supposed to be taken from exceptionally large specimens, but to represent the average size of the bird.

Dr. Brauns' remarks concerning the native names of the *Corvus* are incorrect.

Hashi-buto-garasu means thick billed crow.

" *boso* " " thin "

Watari garasu " migrating crow.

Hama garasu " strand or shore crow

With regard to the name "*watari garasu*," it is probable that the raven does not stop in the Kurils during winter, as the season there is very severe.

The long table of measurements given by Dr. Brauns of two specimens, *Corvus corax* and *japonensis* (? *corone*) only prove that the two birds tabulated are abundantly distinct in all important particulars.

It was somewhat of a surprise both to Capt. Blakiston and myself to read Dr. Brauns' paper, after having called attention to the error in which that gentleman persists in the note mentioned before. Trans. A. S. J. Vol. X, p. 141, as we know that gentleman labelled a specimen of *Gallinago solitaria* in the Hakodate Museum as *Scolopax rusticula*, var. *japonica* ! and we are therefore not inclined to place any reliance on the discrimination of a person who cannot tell the difference between a woodcock and a snipe ; more especially when in direct opposition to Mr. Seebohm's written opinion (Ibis, 1879, p. 31) on one of the Kuril specimens of *Corvus corax* sent for examination to Mr. Seebohm by Capt. Blakiston.

In conclusion, I would remark that I have a very strong interest in the question of unnecessary multiplication of species, and this must be my excuse if I seem to have treated Dr. Brauns with discourtesy. Flagrant errors require strong language for their correction.

MARRIAGE IN JAPAN.
INCLUDING A FEW REMARKS ON THE MARRIAGE
CEREMONY, THE POSITION OF MARRIED WOMEN,
AND DIVORCE.

By L. W. KÜCHLER.
H. B. M.'s CONSULAR SERVICE.

[*Read April 22nd, 1885.*]

Marriage among the Japanese differs in many important respects from marriage as in force among other nationalities with the exception perhaps of China, where the customs prevailing in this respect bear a close affinity to those of Japan, and form the source from which the latter country has largely drawn. The marriage ceremony in Japan possesses few of those features which we are accustomed to regard as essential to its validity; and although custom, and the influence of relatives and friends, exercise a stronger influence over the parties to a marriage contract than might be expected from the facilities afforded them of abusing it, yet the knot is loosely tied and may be easily unfastened. There is no church ceremony, with its appeal to the religious instincts of a people; and no state intervention for the purpose of determining what that ceremony shall consist in.

In saying that the state does not interfere, it is not meant to infer that no interest whatever is taken by the Government in the subject of marriage. Numbers of enactments dealing therewith have from time to time been issued and enforced, both before and since the Restoration; but these referred chiefly to the condition of affairs before and after marriage—regulating the limits of consanguinity within which marriage was forbidden,

making provision for the registration of marriages, laying down laws for divorce, and the like—and never interfered with the actual ceremony. Indeed, judging from the manner in which this latter is often curtailed, it seems to be regarded as the least important part of the whole proceeding. In its character it is purely symbolic, consisting as it does in the drinking by both parties, after a prescribed fashion, of a fixed number of cups of wine. No wedding ring is used, and no words are uttered, or promises made, by either party to the other. When it is over, the newly joined couple remain at home, and court, rather than avoid publicity. These again, except under certain peculiar circumstances, do not set up a separate establishment, but continued to live with the parents of the husband or wife, as the case may be.

The great object of most Japanese is to procure the unbroken descent of their family line, and to do this many curious expedients are used. For instance, any person entering a family as son-in-law or adopted son takes the name of the family to which he joins himself. In a family where there are several sons and daughters, the eldest son is the heir and successor. When he marries, a wife is procured for him from some other family, and she lives with him in the same house with his parents. She is known in such case as the *yome*, and the proceeding is termed *yome iri*, or "taking in a daughter-in-law:" this is by far the commonest form of marriage. Should there be only daughters in the family, a husband is procured for the eldest, who takes the name of the family into which he marries, and in due course becomes its head, the other daughters generally going as *yome* to other houses. The husband in this case is known as *muko yoshi*, i.e. adopted son-in-law, and also he is almost invariably a younger son. He usually has no means, and is therefore entirely dependent on his wife's family. His position does not appear to be altogether an enviable one, and so little, indeed, is it appreciated by all classes, that most people only take to it when they have no other means of support. The proverb says, "If you possess three measures of rice bran, don't go as a son-in-law" (*Ko nuka san go motta nara muko ni iku na*). Sometimes again a boy is

adopted while still a child, for the purpose of marrying a daughter also still in infancy—the marriage of course not taking place until they both come of age. Again, a *muko yoshi* may be introduced in order to marry the adopted daughter of a house, and thus continue the family line. Even although there is only one daughter in a family and no sons, the custom of taking in a son-in-law is not an invariable one. If the parents are in poor circumstances they will, though generally against their inclination, marry the daughter to some man who can afford to keep her creditably. As soon after this as they are able they adopt a child, which, when it grows up, is married in its turn; if a girl, by having a husband (*muko yoshi*) procured for her, who in the course of time becomes the head of the house. It has latterly become very common for the younger sons of a family to marry independently, provided they are able to support a wife. Where they cannot do this in a manner befitting their station, there is no alternative for them but to marry into another family (*muko yoshi*).

When the parents of a family, the children of which are grown up, wish to retire from active life (*inkio*), they either live apart on a kind of pension or allowance granted by the children, or else—and this more generally—remain with them in the same house, resigning all active participation in its management. It is then that the son or son-in-law becomes the real head. It is also sometimes the custom, where there are only daughters in a family, and the parents, having retired as described above, for the eldest to stand *in loco parentis* and allow the next to receive a husband; but if she elects to do so, she cannot afterwards insist upon her original right of taking a husband herself, although she may leave the family if she chooses and go elsewhere as a *yome*. If the younger sister should die after having married in the above manner, her widower may, if he choose, marry any of the remaining sisters, marriage with a deceased wife's sister being permitted in Japan.

Since the Restoration (1868) various notifications have from time to time been issued on the subject of marriage, principally with a view to abolish certain class restrictions which formerly

existed. In olden times many of these vexatious restrictions on marriage existed. It was necessary to petition in a formal manner before permission to marry could be obtained. Princes and *Kuge*, or court nobles, addressed their petition direct to the Emperor; Daimiyo, or territorial nobles, to the *Shogun*; and *Shizoku*, or the retainers of the Daimiyo, to their respective Lords. In a country situated as Japan in these days was, the reasons which prompted the supreme rulers to exercise some control over the alliances between families subject to them, may be readily conceived. But with the introduction of a new order of things in 1868, these reasons to a great extent ceased. Formerly also it was not permitted the above classes to intermarry with each other or with *heimin*, or common people, nor was one class allowed to adopt children of a different class. This prohibition has also been done away with by recent notifications.

The most important of these is the one of August 31st, 1871, which frees all classes, high and low, from the necessity of petitioning before marriage, and provides that all that shall be necessary to render a marriage valid is that it be reported, when completed, to the *Kocho*, or headman, of the district in which the parties reside. Another notification, that of 1875, No. 209, lays down that no marriage shall be deemed complete and valid until recorded in the said district office. This process of registration is very simple: in the case of a girl marrying into a family (*yome iri*), her father or nearest relation reports the fact to the *Kocho* of his district. The head of the family into which she has married in like manner reports to the *Kocho* of his district that a certain girl (giving her name and former place of residence) has joined his family. Her name is then formally entered into the register (*nimbetsu*) as belonging to the family into which she has married. A similar proceeding takes place in the case of a man leaving his own, and marrying into another family (*muko-yoshi*).

Having thus roughly sketched the position in which the members of a family stand towards each other in relation to marriage, I propose to take the commonest form (*yome iri*) as a type, and deal with it in detail, treating, first, of the prelimin-

aries to marriage ; second, of the actual ceremony ; and last, of the position of husband and wife after marriage.

The preliminaries leading to a union between two persons are very different from those which we find among Western nations. The first meeting of the future husband and wife is seldom a chance one, nor is the union resulting therefrom the result of fortuitous circumstances, or personal predilection. Marriages are almost invariably arranged by the parents or nearest relations of the parties, or by the parties themselves, by the aid of an agent or middleman known in Japanese as the *nakōdo*, it being considered highly improper for them to arrange it on their own account. Among the lower classes, indeed, such direct unions are not unfrequent ; but they are held in contempt, and are known as *yagō* (meeting on a moor), a term of disrespect showing the low opinion entertained of them. The middleman is usually a married friend of the party seeking his good offices, and, according to a native work on etiquette, great care should be exercised in choosing him, as his duties are of a very important nature. He should be by nature truthful and not given to exaggeration. His duty consists in acquainting each of the parties with the nature, habits, good and bad qualities, and bodily infirmities of the other ; and this he must do honestly and without concealment. It is also part of his duty to do his utmost to bring the affair to a successful conclusion. The same authority goes on to dwell upon the unhappiness which may result to both parties from any concealment or untruth on the part of the middleman, and quaintly observes that he, the middleman will in such case lay himself open to the imputation of untruthfulness.

The *nakōdo* then, as will be seen from what I have stated above, may be appealed to not only by a young man desiring a wife, but also by a young woman in want of a husband, as well as by the parents or relatives of these. As a matter of fact, however, it seldom happens that the parties immediately interested communicate directly with the *nakōdo* : if they have parents or guardians, it is done by these, and, if not, by the nearest relation. The services of the *nakōdo*, again, may be sought in order to bring together people already acquainted with

each other, in which case his instructions are specific and his duties comparatively light. Or, on the other hand, he may have *carte blanche* to find a suitable partner in life for some young man or woman, which commission carries with it considerable responsibility, and gives wide room for the exercise of that tact and discretion which are indispensable to the proper fulfilment of his mission.

Suppose then, for the sake of illustration that the services of the middleman have been applied for by the parents of a young man, in order to find him a suitable wife. After he has fixed upon some girl who in his opinion possesses the requisite qualifications, the middleman proceeds to sound her parents on the subject. If his proposals on behalf of his principal are rejected the matter at once falls to the ground, and, where his instructions are not specific (in which case his duties come to an end), he looks round for some other suitable person. Should his proposals be favorably entertained, his next care is to arrange for a meeting between the parties, which meeting is known as the *mi ai*, literally "see meeting." The *mi ai* is arranged in various ways : a party to the theatre, a social gathering, or a picnic to some favoured spot, may be made the means of introducing the future husband and wife to each other. Sometimes the latter remains unconscious of the object of this meeting until it is over, in which case their intercourse is less restrained, and they are better able to form an opinion of each other's merits and demerits. More generally, however, they are made aware of the object for which they are brought together, in which case they naturally try to appear to their best advantage in each other's eyes.

After the *mi ai* is over, should either party object to the other the proceedings come to an end, and the *nakōdo* looks round for some more eligible party. A native authority on the etiquette to be observed on such occasions, strongly advises young people not merely to make the *mi ai* the occasion for examining one another's personal appearance. They should, according to him, seize the opportunity to study and observe each other's conduct as carefully as possible, so that no regret may follow in after life by their having been influenced solely by

personal attractions or financial advantages; sound advice, which is doubtless as carefully followed in Japan as in other countries.

Formerly this ante-nuptial meeting was dispensed with in the case of people of very exalted rank, who consequently never saw each other until the bride removed her veil on the marriage day; and it is this exception that has probably given rise to the mistaken idea to be met with in most of the books written by foreigners on Japan, namely, that in Japanese marriages, the parties never see each other until the wedding ceremony. Among the lower classes, again, and especially those living at the different Treaty Ports, no such proceeding as the *mi ai* is known; or even if known, is generally neglected.

If, as I have said before, either party is dissatisfied with the other after the introduction described above, the matter proceeds no further; although a girl might always be ordered by her parents to marry the man of their choosing even though she entertained a strong aversion to him. Educated, as girls in this country are, to regard obedience to parents as their first duty, she would almost invariably conform to their wishes in this respect; but at the present day parents seldom force a daughter to marry against her inclination.

Both parties being satisfied with the result of the *mi ai*, a day is fixed on which the proposed husband sends certain prescribed presents to his future bride, and this sending of presents forms one of the most important parts of the marriage ceremony. It is in fact the only equivalent to anything approaching a contract I have been able to discover, and when once these presents have been sent and *accepted*, the contract is completed and neither party can retract. If either party should indeed repudiate the contract, I am not aware of any legal remedy within the reach of the other side; but I am nevertheless assured on good authority that such breaches of faith are extremely rare.

The presents referred to above are determined by custom, and consist in certain articles of food and clothing. These are usually five tubs of *saké*, five articles of food (see Note A), two rolls of silk, and an *obi* or silken girdle. The numbers given above are the usual ones, but they are subject to variations ac-

cording to the circumstances of the sender and recipient. People not in very flourishing circumstances may send three tubs of *saké* and three articles of food, while rich people may increase the number to seven of each, besides sending various articles of apparel over and above those before mentioned. Very poor people, again, need only send one tub of *saké* and one article of food, without the roll of silk, the price of the *obi* being usually substituted for that article. What the exact meaning of these presents is, I have been unable to find out. The native books on marriage are silent on the subject, and the Japanese whom I have consulted all profess ignorance on the point, contenting themselves for the most part with the usual unsatisfactory answer that it is a custom which has been handed down from ancient times. That the custom is of great antiquity there can be no doubt, as I find mention made of it in Mr. Chamberlain's story, the "Maiden of Unahi," which is translated from the "*Yamato Monogatari*" or tales of old Japan, and which is referred to in the *Manyōshū*, or "Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves," a collection of poems dating back to the eighth century.

Should the presents sent by the suitor be accepted, and the consent of the bride and her family to the match thereby made manifest, the next step is to fix upon some day considered lucky (see Note B. *kichi nichi*) for the *yome iri*, or bringing home of the bride, on which occasion the real marriage ceremony takes place. There is, however, another formal proceeding known as the *muko iri*, which is a kind of ceremonious introduction of the bridegroom to the relatives and friends of his future bride, and which takes place in the house of the bride's parents. This may be celebrated either before, on the same day as, or after the *yome iri*; but as originally it always took place before, I think it may reasonably be regarded as coming under the head of preliminaries to marriage. At the time determined on for the performance of the *muko iri* (i.e. taking in a son-in-law), the bridegroom goes to the house of his future bride's parents, where all her relations are assembled for the occasion, taking with him certain presents for her father, mother, brothers and sisters. The ceremonies on this occasion, when carried out in their entirety, which at the present

day is seldom the case, are governed by the same rigid etiquette and strict adherence to precedent which characterize the marriage itself. Formerly a great deal of importance was attached to the *muko iri*, as it was looked upon as a kind of condition precedent to the actual wedding; but more recently there has arisen a tendency to leave it over until the marriage is completed, when it is usually joined to another ceremony known as *sato-gayeri*, but in a very abbreviated form.

The *muko iri* then, as I have said before, takes place at the house of the bride's parents. At it are present the bride's father, mother, brothers and sisters, as well as the *nakōdo* with his wife. The bride herself does not appear on this occasion. There are also present two young girls who act the part of cup-bearers, and are known as *shaku tori* (*shaku*, a handle, and *tori*, to take or hold: the vessel with which they pour out the *saké* being provided with a long handle), and who play also an important part on the marriage day, as will be seen later on. The parties being all present, a tray on which are certain kinds of food is brought in and placed in the centre of the room. On this tray are *surumé* (dried cuttle fish), *kamaboko* (a kind of fish cake), and *yaki tori*, or roast birds. This proceeding is called the *tegakari* or "beginning." Another tray is then brought in on which are roast chestnuts, *kobu* (a kind of edible seaweed), and *noshi* (see Note A *Sakana*). This is known as the *hiki watashi*, or "handing over" (presumably of the bride). Thereupon commences the *san san ku do* which forms the most important part of this ceremony as well as of the *yome iri*. One of the *shaku tori* is provided with three *saké* cups, of different sizes, graduated so that one exactly fits into the other (*mitsugasané*). These she fills one by one with *saké*, beginning with the smallest, and hands them to the bride's father. After he has emptied them they are handed in precisely the same manner to the proposed son-in-law, with this difference, that when the latter has drunk out of the first two, the present from the bride's father to his daughter's future husband is produced and handed over to him with much ceremony, after which he empties the third cup. The cups are then handed back to the father, who once more empties them as before. At this stage of

the proceedings a kind of food called *zoni*, composed of *mochi* (rice cake), fish and vegetables, is produced, after which a proceeding exactly similar to the above takes place between the proposed son and mother-in-law—he drinking three cups, she drinking three, and he drinking three again—the only difference being that soup instead of *zoni* is produced. Once more the above process is repeated by the son-in-law and the bride's father, the former drinking first, after which the wine cup circulates among all present. Tables furnished with food are then brought in and placed before the guests, and a feast provided of a more or less elaborate nature, according to the circumstances of the families interested.

It must be remembered that the ceremony described above is that of the *muko iri* when carried out in its entirety. In recent times it has become customary to observe it only in a very modified form, and I have even known cases in which it has been joined to the actual wedding ceremony, from which it ought, strictly speaking, to be quite distinct. It should also be borne in mind that in all these ceremonies where the drinking of wine plays such an important part, the cup is merely put to the lips, and only a very small proportion of its contents swallowed.

When the day which has been determined on as a propitious one for the marriage arrives, the bride leaves her own house, accompanied by the *nakōdo* and his wife, and proceeds to that of her future husband. This departure from her old home was formerly also made the occasion for some curious ceremonies, most of which have now fallen into disuse, or have been altogether forgotten. The most notable amongst these was the lighting of a fire in the courtyard or garden at the moment of her departure, the precise reason for which proceeding I have been unable to arrive at. It has probably something to do with wishing the bride prosperity, much as in England people throw rice and old shoes after a newly-married couple for the same reason.

The bride takes with her certain conventional presents for her future husband, which presents are usually five in number, and consist in the following articles: a roll of silk, a ceremonial dress, a silk girdle (*obi*), a fan, and some paper. She should also

be provided with presents for the bridegroom's parents and relations, which should vary in value according to the position in life of the donor; and the bride in this respect should always be guided by the value of the presents brought by the bridegroom on the occasion of the *muko iri*.

The marriage ceremony, which takes place immediately on the bride's arrival at her future home, is entirely of a social nature, no religious element entering into it at all, and consists for the greater part, like the *muko iri*, in the drinking after a prescribed fashion of a certain number of cups of *saké*. In the native guides to the etiquette to be observed on such occasions, the most minute rules are laid down for the conduct of all persons participating in the ceremony. As it is however the modern custom greatly to curtail this, and as it has moreover been well and ably described before, I will content myself with a short account of the principal features only, leaving out such tedious details as the furnishing of the room in which the marriage takes place, the proper position in which the parties present ought to sit, etc. While the actual ceremony which is supposed to make the parties husband and wife is taking place, the only persons present in the room should be the bride and bridegroom, the middleman with his wife, and the two *shaku tori*, or young girls who act the part of cup-holders, as in the *muko iri*. The middleman attends on the bridegroom, near whom he sits, while his wife seats herself close to the bride, on whom it is her duty to attend. They pour out the *saké*, the *shaku tori* or *shakunin* are provided each with a kind of ladle, ornamented with a paper imitation of a male and female butterfly, and hence known as *ochô* and *mecho*. These ladles are either made of silver or some cheaper substance, such as pewter, according to the means of the people using them. In poor families it is customary to have only one *shakunin*. (Note 3.)

A small table on which are three cups, similar to those used in the *muko iri*, is placed before the bride, it being an ancient custom that until the ceremony is completed she should drink first in order. The bride's assistant takes the smallest of these cups, has it filled with *saké* by one of the *shakunin*, and hands it to the bride, who empties it three times. The cup is then taken.

by the same *shakunin* to where the bridegroom sits, filled by her as before, and handed by the middleman to the bridegroom, who also empties it thrice. This being done, soup is brought in and placed before the persons present, as in the *muko iri*. Thereupon the other cup-bearer takes the second cup, fills it, and has it handed by the middleman to the bridegroom. The latter, after drinking out of it three times, sends it to the bride, who does the same. The first cup-bearer then takes the largest cup to the bride and afterwards to the bridegroom, who each repeat the process described above. This proceeding is known as the *san san ku do* (lit. three three nine times) and forms the most essential part of every marriage ceremony.

The *san san ku do* being finished, the guests and relations come in and congratulate the newly married couple, who after a little while are accompanied by the *nakōdo* and his wife to their chamber, where it is customary for them once more to go through the form of pledging each other in wine. And it is worthy of note that while in the *san san ku do*, as has been already observed, the custom is for the woman to drink first, when that ceremony is over and the parties have become man and wife, the husband takes the opportunity thus afforded him of asserting his new position by drinking first when in the privacy of their own chamber.

At the commencement of the proceedings described above the bride is dressed entirely in white. After the *san san ku do*, when the relations and guests are all assembled in the room, she retires to change her costume, putting on a dress having some colour and pattern, which is a present to her from her parents-in-law. The bridegroom also at the same time changes his attire, putting on the dress which, with girdle and fan, have been given by the bride's parents. This changing of costume is known as the *iro naoshi* or "colour altering," and when it has been effected, and husband and wife have returned to the room thus freshly attired, the friends, relations and retainers produce their presents and offer their congratulations to the newly married pair. The retiring of the latter to their room ends the ceremony.

Formerly the bride almost invariably wore a kind of veil

of white floss silk and of a peculiar bell shape, which could be so adjusted as to completely conceal the features. On the way to her future husband's house this was kept down over the face but arrived there, it was raised to the forehead, in which position it was retained during the ceremony. At the present day this veil is little used, or is constructed so as merely to cover the hair. Country people simply bind some floss silk round the forehead.

Three or five days after the marriage, husband and wife proceed to make a formal visit to the parents of the latter. Should they be from any cause unable to do this, they have the alternative of sending a messenger with presents instead, which, indeed, is the course usually pursued. This visit is known as the *sato-gayeri* (village returning), and the opportunity is sometimes taken to combine with it the *mukc iri*, where the latter ceremony has not been carried out before marriage.

The position of woman, and the rules as to her conduct by which she ought to be governed after marriage, deserve some remark; and although in Japan this position is relatively to man a decidedly inferior one, and she enjoys few rights or privileges, yet in this respect she is considerably in advance of her sisters of most other Oriental nations. Considerable improvement has, it is true, taken place of late years in this regard; and, with the increased attention that is now being paid by the country to female education, still further advances may be confidently expected.

Until recently the whole conduct of woman, more especially as regards her relations towards her husband, was regulated by the principles laid down in such books as the *Onna Daigaku*, or "Woman's Greater Study," a work written by one Kaibara Yekiken in 1720, and adapted by him from Chinese works of a similar nature. The rules laid down in this book for the guidance of women, were (and are still) inculcated on girls from an early age, and followed by them in after life without question. Although it would prove both useless and uninteresting to encumber this paper with a lengthy translation from this book, I think a few short extracts might be of some value, as showing by what recognised rules the relation between husband and wife is really governed. The book opens with a statement to the effect that

when a girl marries, she becomes subject entirely to the will of her husband's parents, and that she must endeavour to bear patiently their treatment of her, however harsh and unjust it may appear. This implicit and unquestioning obedience to her new parents is in fact the mainspring that must influence her entire conduct as a wife. After her husband come her parents-in-law, at whose beck and call she must ever be, and whose commands she must obey even before those of her own parents. So great indeed is the importance which for ages has been attached to this principle, that disobedience to parents-in-law stands first in importance among the seven reasons given by Confucius for which a husband may properly divorce his wife. These reasons are all distinctly set forth in the *Onna Daigaku*; so that, however monstrous they may sound to Western ears, a Japanese woman has at least been taught from childhood what to expect on entering the married state. The *Onna Daigaku* contains some very excellent moral precepts, which cannot fail to have a good effect on the minds of young girls to whom they are taught. Woman is strongly urged therein to place a higher value on goodness of heart than on mere physical beauty. She is told to be gentle and subdued in her intercourse with all people; not to mix too freely with the other sex; and not for a single moment to listen to loose conversation. To whatever depths of poverty her husband may sink, the wife is cautioned not on that account to make the least complaint, or express the slightest desire to leave him. The Chinese equivalent for *yome iri*, says the author of the *Onna Daigaku*, means "going home;" and once therefore a woman has entered a house as *yome*, she ought at all costs to remain there all her life. If, through any fault of hers, she is sent away, even should she afterwards marry again into a rich house, the shame and disgrace will still attach to her until she dies. Again, a wife is admonished on no account to show jealousy. If, says the book, the husband be guilty of any impropriety or error, the wife should gently reprove him. Should he thereupon get angry, she ought to wait for a little until his anger is appeased before renewing her reproof. On no account must she lose her temper and talk violently to him. Then follow a number of domestic

details setting forth her duties in her husband's house, which, if literally carried out, would go to show that the life of a married woman in Japan is far from an easy one. She must rise early and retire late; she must not sleep during the day, but look after the house, spending her spare time in weaving, spinning and sewing. Hints are given her on the subject of domestic economy, and the proper scale on which to conduct the household. She must on no account go anywhere without her husband's permission, and if under forty, she ought not to resort much to shrines and temples and such places where many people congregate. Neither must she go often to the house of her own parents. If she wishes to communicate with them, this can be done by messenger. Next follows a disquisition upon the relative inferiority of the sex generally, evidently intended to humble her in her own estimation. Woman, says the book from which I am quoting, in seven or eight cases out of ten, suffers from the mental diseases of disobedience, anger and resentment, evil speaking, jealousy, and lack of intellect. On account, therefore, of this lack of intelligence, she must in all things seek for and follow the advice of her husband. In ancient times, says the author of the *Onna Daigaku*, when a female child was born, it was kept for three days under the floor of the house; the reason for which proceeding being, that woman was considered of the earth in distinction to man, who was regarded as of the heaven, heavenly.

I have quoted, perhaps, at greater length from this book (the *Onna Daigaku*) than the interest of the subject may appear to warrant; but my excuse must be, that, in my opinion, it illustrates better than anything else what peculiar views as to marriage are impressed upon women from their earliest infancy. It also shows what an inferior—I might say servile—position she is expected to occupy. It is true, indeed, that, probably on account of the natural gentleness of the people, fewer abuses of this position are heard of than might be expected from the wide authority which the husband has power to exercise. Yet on the other hand again, it will easily be understood from what I have already said, that, until important and radical changes are effected in the

whole marriage system—changes, especially, which will give to wives greater security against the possible tyranny or caprice of their husbands,—the position of woman must continue to remain far below that of her sisters in nations laying claim to civilization.

Before closing this part of my subject, I should like to make a few remarks touching certain customs peculiar to married women in this country, and which, to a certain extent, serve to distinguish them from other women, premising that a great many of these have either fallen into disuse or continue to be observed among the lower classes only. Most noteworthy amongst these is the peculiar practice of staining the teeth black, and shaving off the eyebrows on marriage. As usual, it is extremely difficult to arrive at the precise origin of these customs. All that my enquiries have brought to light with regard to the habit of blacking the teeth is that it is of great antiquity and probably indigenous to Japan. Most writers assert that it was a kind of disfigurement, by which the woman on marrying intended to show that she wished to render herself repulsive in the eyes of the world at large, meaning henceforth to devote herself solely to her husband. But it is difficult to accept such a theory, in view of the fact that the custom was not confined to women alone, the *Kuge* or Court Nobles, until recently, being in the habit of staining their teeth black. The more reasonable hypothesis is, that originally it was meant in some way or other as a mark of servility—the wife being regarded as the servant and inferior of her husband and lord. The origin of the custom of shaving off the eyebrows is also involved in obscurity. The Japanese have a tradition that in ancient times there lived an Empress who by nature was without eyebrows. The court ladies, in order to resemble her, all shaved their's off, thus originating a fashion which has lasted until the present day. On occasions of ceremony, however, it was the custom, so they say, to paint a pair of false eyebrows on the forehead, but much higher up than the real ones, which can indeed be seen in almost any old Japanese painting. The origin of the custom of wearing *kanzashi*, *nakazashi*, and other descriptions of hairpins is also a curious one. The *kanzashi* was formerly only worn by married women. It originally consisted

in a small dagger, which was sheathed in the hair and used by a woman in cases of emergency. Gradually, as the need for it became less urgent, its shape also underwent modification, until all trace of its original use was lost. Married women have also a peculiar manner of dressing the hair, by which they can generally be distinguished. It consists of a kind of chignon known as the *maru magé* (round queue), which is built up on a frame generally with the assistance of more or less false hair. Its use is not confined to married women but a married woman seldom, if ever, appears in public with her hair dressed otherwise.

When the husband goes out, the wife accompanies him as far as the house door, where she makes an obeisance and begs that "he will return soon." This does not take place when the wife goes out: in that case she simply reports herself, "I am going out and will return" (*itte mairimasu*). When both go out together, the husband walks a little in front; husband and wife seldom walk side by side, and never arm in arm. When met in the street by an acquaintance, the husband is saluted first, the wife standing by looking on till the somewhat lengthy greetings are over. A husband addressing a letter to his wife uses a title less respectful than that which she uses to him; but a third person addressing the wife must make use of the more respectful title.

A husband may, if he choose, bring a concubine into his house, and his wife cannot for that reason take any proceedings against him; nor indeed, until the Notification of May 38, 1873—which gave her the right to sue for a divorce in a court of law in certain cases—can she take legal proceedings of any kind against him.

The general belief among the people is that the relation between parent and child is confined to this world and closes with death, while that between husband and wife continues in some future state of existence; and for this reason probably, it is considered improper for a woman to marry again after her husband's death. She ought to "cut her hair short and remain single."

It remains to make a few remarks on the law of divorce as

existing in this country—if, indeed, that can be called a law which does not require for its enforcement the intervention of a court of justice. For my information on this subject I am indebted principally to the learned contributions of Mr. Miyazaki Michizaburo to the *Mei Ho Sha* (Legal Society). This gentleman divides the subject into three heads, viz., the *Tai Ho Ritsu*, or law of the period, Tai Ho (A. D. 700); the *Tokugawa Ritsu*, or laws in force during the Tokugawa Shogunate (A. D. 1600-1868); and the laws issued since the Restoration (1868). As a matter of fact, however, the laws of the *Tai Ho* period which deal with the subject of divorce, have remained in use with but little addition or alteration to the present day. Some unimportant changes have, it is true, been recently made, and it is rumoured that an entirely new code is shortly to be issued, but for all practical purposes the *Tai Ho Ritsu*, which is of Chinese origin, is still universally in force.

Mr. Miyazaki divides the entire subject into two parts:

First, where a divorce *may* be obtained; and second, where it *must* be obtained.

Again, the cases in which a divorce *may* be obtained naturally divide themselves into—

First, where the husband may, and

Second, where the wife may obtain one.

The husband may divorce his wife for any of the following seven reasons:

(1) Where the wife, having reached the age of 50, is childless.

(2) Where the wife is guilty of adultery.

(3) Where the wife is guilty of disobedience towards her parents-in-law.

(4) Where the wife talks too much.

(5) Where the wife is guilty of theft.

(6) Where the wife is addicted to jealousy.

(7) Where the wife suffers from a hereditary disease.

Although under ordinary circumstances a husband might divorce his wife for any of the above reasons, in certain special

cases this right was taken from him, except in numbers two and seven, when it always held good. These cases were :

- (1) Where the wife had behaved in an exemplary manner during the illness of her father- or mother-in-law.
- (2) Where the wife, though of low station at the time of her marriage, had subsequently risen in rank.
- (3) Where the wife has no relations or place to which she can be sent.

Of course, if the wife consented she might be sent away notwithstanding these objections.

The wife *may* obtain a separation from her husband for the following reasons :

- (1) Where the husband has gone abroad, and has not returned within the following periods, viz., five years if they have children and three years if not.
- (2) Where the husband has deserted his wife, and has not returned during the following periods, viz., five years if there are children, and three years if there are none.

The woman may also obtain, at any time before the actual marriage ceremony, an annulment of the agreement to marry any man, for the following reasons :—

- (1) Where there has been a delay of three months without sufficient cause.
- (2) Where the proposed husband has been absent at any one time for a whole month without good cause shown.
- (3) Where the proposed husband has gone abroad and has not returned within a year.
- (4) Where he has been convicted of a crime.

Next come the cases in which husband and wife *must* separate ; and these, like the former, are further subdivided ; the one case being where they *must* separate on account of their own misconduct, and the other, where they must separate on account of the act of a third party.

The cases in which husband and wife *must* separate on account of their own act are :—

- (1) Where the husband has been guilty of violence towards his wife's parents or relations.

- (2) Where the wife has been guilty of violence towards, or slander of, her husband's parents or relations, or has tried to injure her husband.

The case in which husband and wife *must* separate on account of the act of a third person is where any of the relations of either party has been guilty of violent conduct towards the other party.

Suitable punishments used formerly to be enforced for the infraction or non-feasance of the above rules; but these, as well as many of the rules themselves, are now obsolete. It must not be supposed either that divorce in Japan is the easy matter which most residents, in, and visitors to, this country suppose it to be. A solemn conclave of the relations of both parties is held, and the question argued with as much care and regard to justice as would be found in any court of law. An improper divorce by a husband of his wife has often been the cause of a life-long feud between the two families. At the present day it has become very common for the parties to seek the intervention of a court of law on any dispute as to divorce arising, but this course is not and never has been a necessary one. When the parties separate, the husband gives the wife a kind of certificate (*ri yen jo*), which is of great importance to her should she marry again. The husband also proceeds to the *Kochō* of his district, to whom he reports the divorce and requests the name of his wife to be removed from the *nimbetsu* (register). The *Kochō* thereupon communicates the matter to the *Kochō* of the district to which the woman belongs. By Instruction No. 209 of December 9th, 1875, officials throughout the country were informed that no divorce was in future to have effect until it was so registered with the *Kochō*.

During the Tokugawa period some very severe laws on the subject of adultery were made and carried out. Thus in the third year of Kio Ho (1718) the Shogun Yoshimune passed a law that a wife convicted of adultery should be sentenced to death, as also her paramour. The same Shogun also decided that the husband might slay both his wife and her lover; and where he only slew the lover, the wife was still sentenced to death. If, however, the lover had fled and made good his escape, the punish-

ment or not of the wife was for the husband to decide. It was also decided at the same time that where a man had solicited a married woman to commit adultery with him, or had secretly entered a house for that purpose, the husband might kill him, and such killing was to be considered no crime, provided that there was clear proof of such solicitation. Aiders and abettors were sentenced to exile and were forbidden to reside in towns.

Women who to the crime of adultery had added that of slaying their husbands were condemned to be crucified. Again in the first year of Kwan Po (1741) a law was passed that persons who, while attempting to commit adultery had wounded the woman's husband, should be led through the streets, and after that decapitated and their heads exposed. In 1743 it was decided that a man guilty of adultery with the wife of his lord or master should be decapitated and his head exposed. The woman was condemned to death without exposure. Again, it was decided about the same period that a person committing a rape on a married woman was to be executed, and that, where several had acted together, the principal was to be decapitated and his head exposed, while the participators were forbidden to reside in large towns or post towns. All these laws applied to the concubine as well as to the wife. Severe punishments were also provided for those persons convicted of criminal intercourse with certain classes of relations.

In 1717 a law was passed which provided the curious punishment of an enforced change of residence for those persons who had married a second wife without having divorced the first. If the second wife had brought her husband property, this was confiscated. Again, where a woman, without first obtaining a document of divorce, had married into another house (*yome ni iku koto*) she was condemned to have her head shaved, and to be sent back to her parents, a punishment which, curiously enough, is mentioned by Tacitus as having been in force among the ancient Germans for offences of a like nature. The middle-man also, who had negotiated the second marriage, was fined, as also the second husband. At the same period various punishments were provided by law for faithlessness on the part of women engaged to be married.

Most of these laws point to the existence of a feudal state of society, and have naturally disappeared along with the order of things which called them into existence. Some of the Articles of the new Penal Code which deal with this subject may be of interest as showing how the law at present stands. Thus, Article 311 lays down that "a man who discovers his wife in the act of adultery with another, and kills or wounds both or either, shall have his penalty lessened two or three degrees." Again, "Article 353 says that a married woman committing adultery is liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months." Also her paramour. The husband must prosecute, but the prosecution will fall through if he has previously consented to the 'act.' Article 354 provides that "bigamy shall be punished by imprisonment of from six months to two years, with a fine of from five to fifty yen."

In closing this paper, a few remarks on the subject of marriages between foreigners and Japanese will not be out of place. On the 4th of March, 1873, a notification was issued giving permission for the first time to Japanese to intermarry with foreigners. I am not aware that there has been any more recent notification on the same subject, so that it still remains in force. It recites that Japanese wishing to marry their daughters to foreigners, or to marry foreign women, must obtain the permission of the Japanese Government. It points out that Japanese women marrying foreigners lose their nationality; but that should they afterwards for some good reason desire to return to their original status, they will be allowed to do so. Foreign women, again, married to Japanese, become subject to Japanese law. Japanese women married to foreigners cannot hold real property, even although such originally belongs to them. Japanese marrying foreign women abroad must obtain the permission of the Japanese envoy or consul to the country in which they reside; or should there be none, then the permission of the envoy to the nearest country in which there is one. The envoy or consul must then report the matter to his Government. It would be interesting to know the exact position which a foreign woman married abroad to a Japan-

ese according to the laws of her own country, would occupy, if after their return to her husband's country, the Japanese laws of divorce were for some reason sought to be enforced against her.

Very few Japanese have as yet availed themselves of the permission thus afforded to intermarry with foreigners. Some Japanese, while abroad, have taken wives from among the middle classes of Europe and America, but their numbers are very few, and there has been no case as yet of a Japanese marrying a foreign woman in Japan—that is to say, a foreign woman resident in Japan, there having been one or two cases of foreign women coming to this country for the purpose of carrying out a marriage contract entered into abroad. The number of foreigners who have married Japanese women is much greater. These marriages have all taken place at the Treaty Ports, and it is worthy of note that although a few amongst the men forming these alliances are of good social standing, the greater number belong to the artisan and seafaring classes. The women with whom these marriages are made, are, with hardly a single exception, of the lowest class, and they have generally occupied the position of concubine for years before the marriage.

The only way in which at the present day a foreigner can become naturalized as a Japanese is by adoption and marriage (*muko yoshi*). That is, the foreigner marries into a house in which there are no sons, with a view of becoming its head. I have only heard of one case in which this proceeding has actually taken place. The proper course is for the father of the girl to send in an application to the local Prefect, signed by himself, his daughter, the middleman, one of the relations (as representing the rest) and the *Kochō* of his district. The Prefect, in granting permission, endorses on it a request that he be informed of the fact of the marriage having taken place without delay, in order that the foreigner may be formally entered in the register as a Japanese subject. The foreigner's name changes as of course, and should he also desire to change his christian name, permission will be given him to do so on application to the Prefect.

NOTES ON THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN JAPAN AND SIAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By E. M. SATOW.

[Read Nov. 19th, 1884.]

During the century which elapsed from the discovery of Japan by Fernam Mendez Pinto and the almost complete closure of the country to foreign intercourse in 1636, its people abandoned their old habits of seclusion, and a spirit of enterprise arose which prompted them to undertake long voyages, extending even to the remote coasts of Western Europe. The Embassy despatched in 1582 under the auspices of the Jesuit missionaries to Philip II and the Pope was a conspicuous sign of the times, and thirty years later the mission of Hashikura Rokuyemon was equally celebrated. The merchants of Ōzaka, Hirado and Nagasaki eagerly embarked in the trade to Annam, Tonquin, Cambodia and Siam, to Formosa, the Philippine Islands and the Malay peninsula. Japanese mariners engaged themselves on board the vessels of all the nations that frequented the open ports, and a small number even made a voyage to England and back. Others found employment as soldiers in the service of the Dutch in Macassar and Amboyna, or displayed their audacity and talent for stratagem in the capture of the Dutch Governor of Taiwan. Vessels suitable for navigating the open seas replaced the small junks in which they had formerly ventured timidly down the Yellow Sea, or crossed the straits of Krusenstern and Broughton by passing from island to island, and entered a spirited competition with the sailing ships of their European rivals for the trade of the Far East.

It is also probable that, imitating the proceedings of the Dutch, English and Portuguese, they made prize of unoffending Chinese junks,

and sailed marauding along the coast of Cochin China ; for the navigators of that age assumed all mankind to be their natural prey, and regarded commerce and piracy as alternative pursuits equally entitled to respect.

The numerous volumes that narrate the vicissitudes of foreign intercourse with Japan both during and after this period, are chiefly confined to an account of European enterprise in Japan itself, while the history of Japanese adventure in foreign countries has still to be written. The materials are widely scattered, and must be gathered together before a continuous narrative will become possible. In the present paper I have endeavoured to collect some hitherto unprinted documents and to present in condensed form notices from a variety of writers, with the object of illustrating the relations of Japan with Siam in the 17th century, and thus contributing to the study of a period rich in interest for Europeans.

The earliest extant record of written communication between Japan and Siam belongs to the year 1606, when a letter was addressed by the Shôgun Iyeyasu to the King of Siam, containing a request that some muskets, and incense known to us as "eagle-wood," might be furnished to him. But there is no doubt that commercial intercourse had taken place even before this, for the original passports granted to Japanese junks trading to Siam, or rather to the Malay States of Ligor and Patani, then, as now, forming a part of the Siamese Kingdom, are still in existence, dated as far back as 1592.

In 1604, at the request of the *daimiô* of Arima¹ in Hizen, Iyeyasu issued three passports to a Japanese merchant resident in Siam for junks trading thither, and the *daimiô* of Satsuma also obtained one. These were in the following simple form :

"This is a vessel going from Japan to Siam."

They were dated with the year, month and day, and endorsed with the name of the person to whom they were granted. A register was kept of all such passports, and fifty-three which have been preserved are deposited in the archives of the Ministry of Marine.

¹Near the South point of the Shimabara promontory. This noble was the ancestor of the Arima of Maruoka in Echizen.

Besides the grants already mentioned, those which are of most interest to Europeans are the following :—

- In 1609 to the Christian Padre Thomas (Kirisutan Bateren Tomas);
- In 1612 to the Dutchman Jan Joosen (known as "Yayôsu" in the Japanese record);
- In 1618 to the Portuguese (or Spaniard ?) Manohiru (Manoel);
- In the same year to Jan Joosen again;
- In 1614 to Anjin, i.e. Will. Adams, who went by this name, which means 'pilot', among the Japanese;
- In 1615 to the Portuguese (or Spaniard ?) Jacob (Jakobe).

From Cocks' Diary,² which contains much interesting information about English trade in Japan, we learn that he despatched a junk called the "Sea Adventure" on more than one occasion for the trade to Siam, and the passport issued in 1614 to "Anjin" was probably obtained for one of these voyages. Adams himself commanded her. He left Hirado in December, 1615, and returning thither in July, 1616, after an absence of seven months and a half. He went down with the northeast monsoon, and the southwest blew him back. The pass (called *go shiu in*, from the vermilion stamp of the Shôgun appended to it) had to be surrendered at the end of each voyage, and a new one taken out. This rule accounts for the preservation of so large a number of such apparently useless documents in the Japanese archives. *Goshon* used by Cocks³ is the corruption of this word, and not of *gosha*, as Mr. E. M. Thompson states. It appears probable that the register of passports is imperfect, as it goes no further than the year 1615, while trade with foreign countries was not prohibited until 1636.

We may safely conjecture that the intercourse carried on by the Portuguese with Siam, commencing immediately after Dalboquerque's capture of Malacca in 1511, led to the equipment of junks in Japan for the voyage thither, and as we have just seen, it was later on participated in by the English factory at Hirado, and, it may be added, by the Dutch.

In 1609 further letters were sent to Siam, and the latter State

²Published by the Hakluyt Society, and edited by Mr. E. M. Thompson.

³Many of the Japanese words used by Cocks are wrongly identified by Mr. Thompson, who has also failed to recognize in "chowne" the Portuguese "*chão*."

responded by the despatch of envoys with presents. From this time commercial intercourse between the two countries continued almost without interruption until the closing of Japan to foreign trade. Japanese adventurers betook themselves to Ayuthia, then the capital of Siam, and settled there in considerable numbers, at one period as many as 700 (some say 7000). Others traded to Pataui and Ligor, and the aid of the Japanese as bold and skilful warriors seems to have been not infrequently sought by the rulers of Siam in the suppression of revolts among their feudatories. Vol. VII. of this Society's Transactions contains a translation by Captain J. M. James, of an interesting account of the exploits of Yamada Nagamasa, one of these adventurers, with respect to which I have merely to observe that the country spoken of under name of Rikkon by the Japanese writer is evidently Ligor, or Lakhon as it is called by the Siamese, a province in the Malay Peninsula.

Amongst the correspondence in the collection entitled Gwai-Han Tsû-Sho, on which the present paper is largely based, are letters addressed by this same Nagamasa to Doi Ôye no Kami, one of the Shôgun's Council, dated October, 1621, and a reply thereto later in the year. Both of these, as well as other letters exchanged between these two persons, will be found further on in their proper chronological order. They relate to the despatch of envoys from Siam, who were received by the Shôgun at Kiôto and Fushimi. In 1623, 1625 and 1629 other envoys from Siam visited Japan, and were also presented to the Shôguns. The two countries were at this time on the most friendly terms, though a certain air of superiority was assumed by the Japanese in their written communications. After the time of Iyeyasu, the Shôgun never accorded to the King of Siam the title of Highness, but always addressed him as Your Honour or Your Worship. On the other hand he allowed himself to be styled by the Siamese "King of Japan", though never arrogating that title in his own letters.

The Japanese people were forbidden in 1636 to leave their own country, and the three-masted vessels which had been employed in the foreign trade were ordered to be broken up. Two only were preserved by the *daimiô* of Toba in Shima, who was the Shôgun's Commissioner of Marine. At the same time the Japanese who were abroad when the edict was issued were prohibited from returning, and

many consequently settled permanently in Siam. Constant mention is made of them in the older accounts of this country, as late as 200 years ago. They appear to have furnished a body-guard to the Kings of Siam, and the tradition is still preserved in the shape of the titular *Asa Jipan*, the members of which, however, do not claim to be of Japanese descent. It may be inferred that through constant intermarriage with the women of the country, they have become absorbed in the general mass of the population.

I shall proceed in the first place to give translations of the letters which passed between the two countries, adding extracts from the Siamese native chronicles and from European authors by way of illustration. Yamada's story will be recounted with fresh details from a Japanese MS., and will be corroborated by the evidence of a contemporary Dutch historian.

The correspondence as it has been preserved to us consists of documents in Chinese, and one or two in Japanese, these latter being Yamada's letters. On the Siamese side the originals were in their own language, engraved on a thin sheet of gold, as was the case with the letters sent much later to Louis XIV by Somdet Phra Narai. They were accompanied in all cases by a translation in Chinese, presumably the work of settlers of that nation, who appear to have been always numerous in Siam.

The collection opens with the letter from Iyeyasu to the King of Siam, already referred to, which is dated 22nd Oct., 1606. In it he asks to be furnished with some muskets and fragrant wood, and he sends a present of swords and armour. A month later we find that he issued a rescript granting permission to Siamese trading junks to visit Japan, and promising to afford them every facility for trade. Two years subsequently the minister Honda Kôdzuke no suke wrote by Iyeyasu's orders, forwarding a present of armour and renewing the request for muskets. (This is No. 2 of the 1st series.) It is not likely that the desired weapons were of Siamese manufacture, and it may be conjectured that they would have to be procured from the European merchants frequenting Patani, which was the chief station of the Siamese trade at that period. An answer was received from Siam in 1610, but does not appear to have been preserved. Iyeyasu

wrote again at once, and his letter is No. 3 of the series. He sent presents to the King of Siam and to a principal Minister, consisting of muskets, armour and swords. At the same time Honda wrote to the Phra-klang or Minister for Foreign Affairs of Siam (the Barcelona of the early French and other writers on Siam) thanking him for the promise to send the muskets, etc., and expressing the hope that commercial intercourse between the two countries will be kept up by annual junks. This letter is No. 4. The first Siamese junk visited Japan in 1612.

1ST SERIES.

1. LETTER FROM THE SHÔGUN IYEYASU TO THE KING OF SIAM.

"Minamoto Iyeyasu of Japan respectfully addresses His Highness the King of Siam. In matters of alliance, countries may be not widely separated, and yet if there be no friendship between them it is just as if they were a thousand leagues apart. On the other hand, although those countries be not near to each other, yet if communication is kept up, they are as it were neighbours.

"What your humble servant would fain ask your honoured country for is the very best quality of eagle-wood and fire-arms. If your highness will give orders that such be sought for, and will have them sent here, it will be a gracious favour to me, insignificant as their value is. I now beg to offer as a token of my sincere regard, three suits of Japanese armour, each consisting of three pieces, and ten long swords. I have instructed the master of the vessel to give further explanations. An imperfect communication.

"22nd October, 1606."

(L.S.)

This letter, and the rescript above referred to, which is addressed to two men named Fernando Miguel and Jakobe Kwakaranaka (who seem to have been Portuguese or Spaniards), were delivered to a Japanese junk master in December of the year, along with the presents.

2. LETTER SENT TO SIAM BY HONDA MASAZUMI.

"I respectfully address you. The way by sea is very far, and by land the mountains increase the distance, so that we have not been able to write to each other.

"I have the honour, by the commands of my Prince, to address a humble letter to you. My Prince is profoundly desirous of obtaining some of the firearms of your honoured country. If this should be made known to His Majesty (the King of Siam) in such wise that he would bestow on us two or three stand next year, my Lord would be very glad and esteem himself fortunate. Your honoured country's gunpowder is of surprisingly good quality. Although it is not allowed to be sent out of the country, yet if it may be sent out, send us a ship load across the seas. I await confidently a full and complete answer. .

"I send you a present of six suits of armour, being implements of war made in my country, as a slight token of my sentiments. Pray take care of your health at this wintry season. An imperfect communication.

"Dated 17th of November, 1608.

(Signed) "Honda Kôdzuke no suke, Fujiwara no Masazumi,
(L.S.) servant of [the King of] Japan.

"Despatched to the servants who are about the person of the King of Siam."

The answer to this letter is not extant, but it appears to have contained a promise about the firearms and powder. In order that the Siamese King may have no excuse for forgetting, Iyeyasu addressed him again in the following letter:—

3.

"Minamoto Iyeyasu of Japan respectfully addresses His Highness the King of Siam.

"Though lands, countries and seas be separated by a thousand leagues, if there be friendship between them they are close to one another. During the summer a letter from Your Highness' country arrived by a merchant vessel, and I felt as much joy as if I had seen your honoured self face to face. I am extremely glad to learn from the letter of the Okya Phra-klang that by next year's ship you will graciously send me the much desired guns and powder which my servant Honda Kôdzuke no suke requested in his note of the year before last. These are what I desire more than gold brocade.

"The maintenance of commercial intercourse between your honoured

State and my rude country by means of merchant ships passing to and fro every year will greatly promote the peace and happiness of both nations and the prosperity of our respective subjects. Distant regions will thus become as it were neighbours, and we shall be able to keep up friendly relations. My own State is not rich in productions, but such as they are, I have the honour to offer to Your Highness the presents named in the accompanying list.

"May you preserve your health during the coming autumn.

"September, 1610 (7th moon)."

List of presents to the King of Siam.

50 muskets.

do. to the Okya Phra-klang.

1 suit of armour.

1 sword (*Koshi-gatana*).

1 dirk (*Waki-zashi*).

4. LETTER FROM HONDA MASAZUMI TO THE OKYA PHRA-KLANG, SERVANT OF THE KING OF SIAM.

"Two years ago I had the honour to address a letter to you by the orders of my master, and I am glad to say that I have now respectfully perused the memorial in which you state that as soon as my letter reached Siam it was communicated to your Court, and that by next year's ship you will present my Lord with the firearms and powder which he has expressed his earnest desire to possess. I now learn, Sir, from your fragrant letter, that you have presented my Lord with some sandal-wood, precious stones, and a golden [ring] having a design of raised flowers. He is greatly pleased, and has commanded me to reply expressing his thanks as I might judge most fitting.

"My own country enjoys universal tranquillity as regard both its institutions, customs and form of government. The commanders of such Siamese merchant vessels as may visit us from year to year shall have accorded to them every kind of gracious treatment that their hearts may desire. A list of the tokens of friendship which are sent to you by my rude country will be found in the enclosed slip.

"With best wishes for the prosperity of your country and the most genuine respect. An imperfect communication.

"The above is a reply to the Okya Phraklang, servant of the King of Siam, dated this day of the 7th month, by Honda Kôdzuke no suke Fujiwara no Masazumi, servant of Japan." (August, 1610.)

In the summer of 1612 a Siamese vessel arrived at Nagasaki, and on the 26th August her commander had an audience of the retired Shôgun Iyeyasu at the castle of Sumpu (now Shidzuoka). He brought presents of brocade, scarlet cloth and sharks' skins. Two more vessels visited the same port in the following year.

IIND SERIES.

The second series of documents relates to the Siamese Embassy of 1621. They are seven in all, namely:—

1. From a high Siamese official to the governor of Nagasaki.
2. From the Siamese Minister for Foreign Affairs to Honda Kôdzuke no suke
3. From the King of Siam to the Shôgun, who is addressed as His Highness the King of Japan.
4. From the Shôgun Hidetada to the King of Siam, to whom a title inferior to that of 'Highness' is accorded, such as is usually applied in China to military officers of high rank.
5. From Honda and his colleague Doi Oye no kami to the Siamese Minister for Foreign Affairs.
6. From Yamada Nagamasa to Doi Oye no kami.
7. From Honda and Doi to Yamada Nagamasa in reply.

The envoys reached Yedo on the 11th October, and were lodged at the Buddhist monastery of Sei-gwan-ji, then situated in Suda chô in the district of Kanda. Their party numbered 60 or 70 persons in all, of whom 18 besides the envoys had the privilege of audience of their own Sovereign. They were accompanied by Kiya Yazôyemon, a merchant of the town of Sakai, who had made several voyages to Siam, and a Japanese named Gonroku acted as interpreter.

On the 13th they had a public audience of the Shôgun. After some conversation as to the purport of their mission, they were informed that a copy of their credentials and the list of presents should be submitted to the Shôgun before the formal delivery of the same. These having been examined and found satisfactory, the 15th was fixed for the presentation

of the originals, and of the gifts intended for the Shôgun. The latter consisted of a pair of swords of different lengths, an inkstone, 20 muskets, a golden basin, 10 pieces of cotton cloth (perhaps Indian chintz) and 45 elephant's tusks. The Shôgun, dressed in long *hakama* (wide trousers reaching a yard beyond the feet) and *kataginu* (a mantle of light blue hempen cloth projecting sideways from the shoulder), was seated on a large cushion of red damask, in the centre of the *jô-dan* or upper floor of the Chief Hall of Audience (*Ô-biro-ma*), behind a silken curtain, which was rolled up so as to allow of a full view of his countenance. The presents were set out on tables in the hall. There were also present the Ministers Sakai Uta no kami, Honda and Doi, in the same costume as the Shôgun. The *daimiô* and *samurai* were seated in the exterior corridor of the next apartment, and wore the ordinary short *hakama*. At the Shôgun's side were his pages in purple robes. It should be noted that according to the ancient Japanese etiquette all persons present at a public ceremony had to be seated on the ground, instead of standing, as with us.

The letter of the King of Siam was then presented through Sakai Uta no kami. It was enclosed in a multiplicity of coverings. The outside wrapper, which was sealed with wax, on being opened, disclosed a long boat-shaped box; within this was an ivory cylinder, which contained a golden tablet measuring 6 inches by 18, engraved with Siamese characters, and the accompanying translation into the Chinese language was on white paper folded in the usual Chinese style. The letter was deposited on the mats close to the Shôgun's right hand. The two envoys and their interpreter, who were on the lowest floor but one, and thus separated from the Shôgun by nearly the whole length of the Hall, made a reverence, bowing their heads to the floor. Some conversation of a formal nature having taken place through the Ministers of the Shôgun, the envoys withdrew.

On the 17th, at midday, they had their audience of leave. The Shôgun's reply to the King of Siam had been already sealed up and placed in a silver box 18 inches long, 7 wide and 4 deep, which was tied with a crimson cord. This was wrapped in purple silk (*habutai*), and deposited in a box of Paulownia wood, furnished with a lock and key. Over all was thrown a wrapper of silk damask. The envoys were received as before in the great Hall of Audience. The Shôgun was

seated on the upper floor, having the letter on a table in the recess behind him (*toko-no-ma*). The presents were set out in the corridor which ran round the lower floor of the apartment, the horses which formed a part of the gift, being stationed ready saddled and bridled in the court-yard outside. The envoys were conducted on to the lowest matted floor, where they were met by the three ministers Sakai, Doi and Honda. The box containing the letter was brought forward and opened, and its contents having been exhibited to the envoys, was fastened up again and delivered to them. Next the presents were formally handed over to them, upon which they made their bow and retired to the corridor. They were then led into the ante-chamber to receive the presents destined for themselves, consisting of 200 pieces of silver and ten wadded silk robes with the Shōgun's crest for each of them. The Siamese interpreter received 50 pieces of silver and 5 robes, and the Japanese interpreter similar gifts in proportion.

1. LETTER FROM A SIAMESE OFFICIAL TO THE GOVERNOR OF NAGASAKI.

"The Ok Phra Chula of Siam by the orders of the King given to the Okya Si Dhammarat prepares a letter as in duty bound, and respectfully addresses it to Master Hasegawa Gonroku of Nagasaki. My King is anxiously desirous to cultivate lasting friendly relations between my country and the King of your country, so that traders may enjoy the profit of maritime commerce. We therefore despatch Khun Phīchīt Sōmbāt and Khun Prahso't with a letter and presents for the King of your country with the object of cementing friendly relations. When they reach Nagasaki, be pleased to give them your friendly assistance in obtaining a gracious reception for the letter, in order that the desired object may be secured. Further, please conduct them to the capital, so that they may be enabled to perform their mission properly and succeed in establishing friendly relations.

"If in any matter of business they should ask your assistance, please grant your gracious aid.

"We are informed that your country produces a great number of horses of good breed, and my King, though much desiring to procure some, is unable to do so. I pray that careful search may be made in all parts with a view to obtaining the very best, and that advantage may be

taken to send them by the envoys when they return, so as to satisfy this long entertained wish. We shall not forget your exertions in this matter. Do you be pleased to understand this imperfect expression. [Here the letter seems to end, and what follows is a postscript.]

"By the order of my King I am preparing 1000 catties of tin and a hundred catties of ivory, and I hope you will be pleased to accept them. I have the honour to add a list of the presents destined for your King."

"1 long sword.

"1 short do.

"1 pair of fowling pieces.

"10 pieces of chintz.

"1 gold tray.

"1 stone for rubbing ink.

"1000 catties of ivory."

[The date given corresponds to the year 1612.]

2. LETTER FROM THE OKYA SI DHAMMARAT⁵ OF SIAM TO HONDA MASAZUMI.

"The Okya Si Dhammarat of Siam respectfully addresses a letter to His Excellency Honda Kôdzuke no kami of Japan.

"I am commanded by my King to say that, being desirous of cultivating the most intimate relations with your honoured country, with a view to the extensive development of maritime commerce, he is despatching two special envoys, Khun Phichit Sombät and Khun Prahso't by name, as bearers of a letter and presents to be delivered to His Highness Your King, and it is requested that when the envoys arrive they may, by your noble influence, be enabled to obtain the honour of a gracious reception for the letter and presents; and farther, that they may be conducted to the capital and properly received there, in order that the friendly understanding which exists may be made manifest. If in any matter of business they should ask your assistance, it is hoped that you will give them your help.

⁴ The text is imperfect in the original, but the true meaning is evidently what is here given, as appears from a comparison with the end of the following letter.

⁵ Minister for Foreign Affairs.

" We have heard that the fertile soil of Japan produces abundance of good horses, but my King, though much desiring to procure some, has been unable to attain that object.

" We now send envoys to purchase two or three to bring back with them. If they should be able to obtain the assistance of a good judge of horses, and return here with the desired number, this long entertained wish will be satisfied.

" Our poor country is deficient in rare productions, but if anything should chance to please you, pray give us your noble commands. If from now and henceforward friendship is maintained and uninterrupted communication is kept up; if all our ships are enabled to enjoy the benefits of commerce, and if every class in the nation attains the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity, these will be sources of happiness for our country, for which it will be indebted to Your Excellency. Pray therefore give the matter your gracious consideration.

" By the order of the King I have had the honour to prepare ten pieces of chintz and two more on my own account, which I now send you as a token of sincere friendship, and I beg your acceptance of both presents.

" I have the honour to address to you the foregoing, adding thereto a list of the presents destined for your King. I revere you infinitely."

[Same list as in No. 1.]

8. HEADED "MEMORIAL OF THE KING OF SIAM."

" Nai Sömdet Böröm Bophit Phra Chäo Vörä Phana Mäha Näkhon Thävara-vädi Si Ajüthaja Mäha-Dilök Phöb Nöphä-Rätäna Raxa-thani Buri Röm,⁸ the King of Siam, addresses a letter to His Highness the King of Japan.

⁸This means:—The Lord Eminent King of Kings, Holy Prince and noble Ruler of the Great City of many Gates, the Beautiful Impregnable Metropolis of the World, the nine times precious Royal City, the City of Delights. It was the style of the sovereigns of Siam in public documents. The King who writes this letter is Phrah-chäo Song-tham, who reigned from 1603 to 1628. In European accounts he is known as Ragihapi.

"The wise Princes of olden times made it their special aim to give benevolent laws to their people and to keep up friendly relations with their neighbours.

"Thus they contrived at once to please those who were near and to induce men to visit them eagerly from a distance. All classes of the nation looked up to them for protection.

"Siam and Japan are States of equal rank, and I would desire that friendly relations might exist between us as in ancient times. We are separated by the wide ocean, and I fear that communications have been few and rare, which is by no means in accordance with my desires. To study the Māhāyana has long been one of my most earnest wishes, but I have not been able to satisfy my desires. Our reverence for the Buddha and our general civilization are similar, but I have not yet reached a complete knowledge of the mysteries contained in the holy books. Perhaps you have, and can impart it to me.

"For years past your honoured country's merchant vessels have continually visited us, and I have treated them with even greater affection than if they had been my own subjects. I always impress upon the port officials that every facility must be afforded to them, and I have appointed an officer named Khun Chaija Sun to superintend the affairs of those who choose to stay, and to enable both new comers and old residents to enjoy equal advantages in the way of trade, in order to encourage others to come hereafter. With the object of respectfully making all these things clear, I have appointed Khun Phīchīt Sōmbāt and Khun Phraso't to be my envoys, and to be the bearers of a letter and certain presents, which are intended as a slight token of my regard, while they are to inform themselves of Your Highness' health.

"If you are willing that we be allies, let there be no break in our communications for the future. To act with the same good faith as formerly will be for the advantage of both countries.

"This poor land of mine produces little of value, but if there is anything which might be of use to you, pray let me have your commands, that we may long remain friends. We both revere the mysteries of Buddhism, and this is a cause of our peace and prosperity. We ought to govern so well that our people sing at their occupations, and thus we shall be a bright model for others.

"It is my earnest hope that when their business is finished, you will let my envoys return speedily, so that I may hear good news of you."

4. LETTER OF THE SHÔGUN HIDETADA TO THE KING OF SIAM.

"Minamoto no Hidetada returns a letter to His Honour the lord of Siam. Owing to my country and yours being separated by a wide extent of sea, no communication has hitherto taken place between us. But by means of the traffic of merchant vessels, we have heard somewhat of your manners and customs, and are not without a general idea of them. From the contents of the letter brought by your two envoys Khun Phichit Sömbät and Khun Prahso't, and from what they have told me by word of mouth, as explained by the interpreter, I have understood everything as clearly as if I had visited your country and seen everything with my own eyes, although without stirring an inch. I must also express my profound appreciation of your kindness in sending me the six kinds of presents which I have received. As to what you say about revering the Buddha and the similarity of our civilization, it may fairly be said that Virtue exists in my country. From the very creation of Japan the doctrines of moral philosophy have been handed down, and the law of Buddha has been introduced. There is much good in both of them. To the upper classes the former, in accordance with the doctrines of Confucius, teaches the coördination of the Three Powers and the Five Social Duties. The latter inculcates the law of Shakya as contained in the Three Sources of Truth and the Five Commandments. All classes of the common people, including warriors, peasants, artisans and tradesmen, simply pursue their callings. Thus Chinese and Indian books are extremely abundant with us. From antiquity until now we have not only revered Buddhism, but we are expert in literary and military arts. As our other customs will have been observed by your two envoys, I will not attempt to describe them in detail. I am highly pleased with your intention of communicating annually by letter, and am certainly disposed to maintain neighbourly relations.

"I send you a few of our unworthy native productions mentioned in the accompanying slip, and shall be pleased if you will accept them. Pray take care of your health during this autumnal season."

"9th moon of the 7th year of Genna (October, 1621)."

5. REPLY OF THE TWO MINISTERS TO THE, SIAMESE MINISTER FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

"Honda Kôdzuke no suke Masazumi and Doi Ôye no suke Toshikatsu, Ministers of Japan, reply to the Okya Si Dhammarat of Siam.

"We are highly satisfied with the contents of your pleasant letter written by command of the King of your honoured country. On the arrival of the two envoys Khun Phichit Sombât and Khun Prahso't, bearing the letter of your honoured country's King and the six kind of rare productions as named in your list, we consulted together, and reported the matter to our lord the Shôgun Minamoto, who was much pleased with the obeisances of the two envoys. An answer was then prepared and delivered to the envoys. It will certainly be a piece of good fortune for both countries to be in annual communication by letter, and for our merchant ships to pass to and fro. There should not be the slightest feeling of estrangement between us.

"As to the information that the King of your honoured country takes great delight in good horses, in this point he is entirely in accordance with all Japanese who are interested in the military art; they too all desire to possess good horses. Prince Minamoto, being much pleased to learn the wishes of the King, has caused some horses and other Japanese productions to be sent him, in accordance with the accompanying list, which please lay before him. We are extremely grateful for the pieces of figured sarsnet which, as you tell us in your letter, the King has been pleased to bestow upon us, and we have equally received the two pieces which you yourself have charitably presented to us.

"As a small return we desire to offer a horse of no great value to the King of your honoured country and a sharp sword to yourself. We leave it to the envoys to explain all other matters, having nothing else to say. 7th year of Genna.

(Signed) "Honda Kôdzuke no suke Masazumi (L.S.)

(Signed) "Doi Ôye no suke Toshikatsu (L.S.)"

Enclosure.

3 pair of gold paper folding screens.

8 sets of armour.

2 swords.

3 horses, with saddles and bridles complete.

6. LETTER FROM YAMADA NAGAMASA TO DOI TOSHIKATSU.

"I venture to inform Your Excellency that an address written on gold is being despatched from the prince of this country to His Highness, and I humbly beg that Your Excellency graciously design to do all in your power to assist the bearers. Two Siamese and Itô Kindaiyu are being sent as envoys, and I venture to hope that you will take note thereof. The presents from the prince of this country to His Highness are named in a list, which I have the honour to beseech you to be so good as to lay before His Highness. I venture at the same to make an insignificant offering to Your Excellency in the shape of two shark-skins and 200 catties of gunpowder.

"I present this memorial in order to offer my humble felicitations. With genuine Respect.

"18th May, 1621.

(Signed) "Yamada Jizayemon Nagamasa (L.S.)

"From Siam.

"To be opened by the Pages of Ôye Sama, to whom it is offered."

The answer to this is as follows:—

7.

"I have received your letter. The Royal letter brought by the two envoys of your honoured country has arrived, as well as the presents, which have been duly laid before Prince Minamoto, the Shôgun.

"The two envoys have had an audience, and a letter in reply has been vouchsafed for them to carry back to their own country. The interpreter Iku will tell more by word of mouth. The two shark-skins and 200 catties of powder have arrived, and both of us are greatly obliged for your generosity. We send you a present of 20 pieces of bleached cotton cloth as a small compensation for the emptiness of this letter.

"Lucky hour in the 9th month of the 7th year of Genna (October, 1621.)

(Signed) "Honda Kôdzuke no suke Masazumi (L.S.)

(Signed) "Doi Ôye no suke Toshikatsu (L.S.)

"To Yamada Jizayemon no jo."

IIIRD SERIES.

The 3rd series consists of five letters of the year 1628, relating to a rebellion in Cambodia and the desire expressed by the King of Siam that the Shôgun would prevent his subjects from frequenting that Kingdom or rendering assistance to the rebels. The reply of the Shôgun is very friendly, and in the most straightforward manner recommends the King to stand on no ceremony with regard to Japanese subjects who might be found abetting his insurgent vassal.

The envoys bearing the letter of the King of Siam arrived at Nagasaki in August, and proceeded to Kiôto, where they had an audience of the ex-Shôgun Hidetada on the 21st September, 1628, in the Great Hall of Audience of the Castle of Nijô, with the same ceremonies as on previous occasions. On the 24th they were presented to the reigning Shôgun at the castle of Fushimi, and made presents to him likewise, the letter of which they were the bearers having been delivered to his father Hidetada. Two days later orders were given to prepare a reply, which was in fact an acknowledgment of the receipt of the Chinese version of the Siamese King's letter. It was drawn up in the name of Hidetada, and will be found below.

1. MEMORIAL OF THE KING OF SIAM.

"Nai Sömdet Bôrôm Bophît Phrah Phûtthi Chão Vörä Phana Mäha Nakhon Thävara-vädi Si Ajüthaja Mäha Dilök Phöb Nöphä-Rätäna Raxa-thani Bûri Röm, King of Siam,⁷ presents a memorial to His Highness the King of Japan. Last year I had the honour to receive your elegant reply, and from what it stated I saw that it was your desire to keep up friendly intercourse, that the Sovereign is enlightened, his ministers virtuous, his country well-governed, and the people tranquil; further, that the teachings of the Buddha are revered, and that with regard to the principles of good government, the practice of antiquity is exactly followed. My humble heart looks up to you with respect, and experiences infinite joy.

"Your honoured country and mine being separated by the ocean, we were formerly unable to correspond with each other. But the traffic of merchant ships has now fortunately given me an opportunity, and I am

⁷ This is still the King known in Siamese annals as Phrah Chão Song-tham.

thus enabled to have the honour of friendly communication. I am now informed that your feelings towards me are more friendly than if we were members of one family.

"Last year I was again disposed to evince my respectful desire of inquiring about you [but the following circumstances prevented me]. The late Prea Srey Sorpor of my subject state of Cambodia was loyal and obedient. I had appointed him to govern it, and he discharged his duty well. When he came to die, he enjoined on his son and successor Chesda,⁸ the practice of loyal obedience. The latter, however, disregarded the injunctions of his deceased father, and assumed the succession without my sanction. He defied my authority and refused to pay tribute. Consequently it was decided by a council of my nation to send an envoy to reprimand him. Contrary to expectation he did not amend his rebellion against my orders, and I had a great deal of trouble in consequence, which prevented me, to my regret, from carrying out my intention of waiting on you by letter. He has now gone beyond all bounds in the stirring-up of trouble; the administration is disorganized, and the people are plunged in distress, threatening their utter ruin.

"My government intends therefore to take a convenient opportunity of raising forces by sea and land, in order to overrun and subdue his territories. If the merchants of your honoured country who trade thither should be so misguided as to render him assistance when the war breaks out, they will run the risk of being hurt in the *melée*, which I fear will not be in accordance with the friendly feelings I entertain towards you. I desire therefore that you will warn them not to go thither, but they will be able to trade again after tranquillity is restored. For the alliance between the two countries is as close as between flesh and bone, and the interests of Japan and Siam are identical; they share their griefs and happiness. Let there be annual and uninterrupted intercourse between us. If there is anything which your honoured country desires to possess, pray command me, and I shall do all in my power to satisfy your wishes.

"With the desire therefore of promoting the happiness of both nations, I have the honour to despatch my two envoys Hluang Thong Sāmūt and

⁸These are the names given to these Kings of Cambodia by Garnier.

Khun Sassādi, to present to you a letter written on gold and accompanied by a Chinese translation. I also desire to offer to you the presents hereinafter mentioned. Graciously accept this imperfect expression of my sentiments."

1 fine bamboo hat, fastened with strings of amber.

4 catties of eagle-wood.

2 catties of camphor.

1 piece of 5-coloured brocade, on a gold ground.

1 piece of 5-coloured brocade, on a silver ground.

1 piece do. on a yellow ground.

1 piece of 3-coloured brocade, on a silver ground.

10 pieces of snow-white gauze.

10 pieces of snow-white foreign cloth [calico].

2 fowling pieces inlaid with gold.

10 catties of snow-white nightingale's feathers.

2. REPLY OF MINAMOTO HIDEYADA OF JAPAN TO HIS HONOUR THE LORD OF SIAM.

"I learn with satisfaction that my reply of the year before last has reached Your Honour, and that you have now given your two envoys the trouble of coming again with a gracious letter.

"I must also express my great thanks for the various presents you have sent me. It appears that Cambodia having, in assuming the succession without obtaining investiture from Siam, been guilty of discourtesy, and neglected to pay tribute to your honoured country, it has been decided in council to despatch officers to chastise the rebels; and that if merchants of my country resident there should aid them to repel the attack of your honoured country, you wish to exterminate them, although it is not in accordance with the friendly relations existing between Japan and Siam. This will, however, be perfectly just, and you need not hesitate for a moment.

"Merchants are fond of gain and given up to greed, and abominable fellows of this kind ought not to escape punishment. Pray consult your own convenience as to despatching officers again to subjugate rebels, and do not stand on ceremony. Your wishes as to the annual intercourse of trading vessels shall be complied with. Other matters I

leave to the interpreters to explain. A list of a few productions of this country will be found in the enclosed paper, and I shall esteem myself fortunate if you will accept them. I trust you are in the enjoyment of good health, and beg you to understand this imperfect expression of my sentiments.

“September 1623.”

List.

2 halberts.

30 wadded robes.

2 horses, with saddles and bridles complete.

3. LETTER FROM THE OKYA SI DHAMMARAT OF SIAM TO SAKAI TADAYO.

“The Okya Si Dhammarat of Siam respectfully addresses a letter to His Excellency Sakai Uta no kami of Japan. I have had the honour to learn that the great virtue of the King of your honoured country consents to the perpetuation of friendly intercourse, for which we are indebted to Your Excellency's powerful assistance. Reading the letter of your honoured country's King is the same thing as hearing his words face to face, and we have no means to sufficiently express our gratitude. We learn that you have sent some fine horses as generous presents in return; we have reported this to the King, who is much pleased.

“We are inexpressibly rejoiced to find that the King of your honoured country is happy and well.

“Last year we had intended again to inquire how you were, but owing to troubles at home, we were unable to gratify our desires, to our great regret. We have now fitted out a vessel and despatched Hluang Thong Sāmūt and Khun Sassadi with a golden letter and presents, to proceed to your capital and deliver the same. We beg that you will be so good as to render them every assistance in your power and to give them a friendly reception, so that they may fulfil their mission. If our envoys should apply to you, we trust that you will graciously gratify their wishes.

“Your honoured country produces numbers of fine horses. We beg that you will inquire for strong, big and swift animals, and direct our envoys how they may procure some to bring back. If there is anything that Your Excellency wishes for, let us know and we will obey your

commands. My country's Lord attaches much importance to this. I add some trifling presents as a mark of my genuine respect. Accept this imperfect expression of my sentiments."

8 piculs of elephants' tusks.

4 pieces of snow-white cloth.

4 pieces of white gauze.

Dated 1623.

4. REPLY OF FUJIWARA TADAYO UTA NO KAMI, SERVANT OF JAPAN, TO HIS
HONOUR THE TREASURER OKYA SI DHAMMARAT OF SIAM.

"I have read and re-read your Honour's letter.

"The ministers, after taking counsel together, have reported to His Highness the Shôgun the arrival in this country of your honoured country's envoys Hluang Thong Sāmūt and Khun Sassādi with a golden letter and presents. He happens at the moment to have left Yedo on a visit to Kiôto. The two envoys have paid their respects to him and delivered the golden letter and presents, which have given much gratification. A reply has been prepared and handed to the two envoys. There were presents also for his son the new Shôgun, and a day was chosen for them to pay their respects to him also.

"A return is made in the shape of two good horses with saddlery complete; please be so good as to report this to the King.

"I likewise have received three kinds of fine presents for myself, for which it is difficult adequately to express my thanks. The alliance between your honoured country and Japan depends on whether we are united in feeling, and not on the breadth of sea which divides us. As far as your humble servant is concerned, he will never offer any opposition. I beg to offer a fine horse to the King of your honoured country, and beg you to be so good as to present it to him. The new Shôgun and His Highness the late Shôgun are returning to Yedo, and I am about to start in attendance. Being unable to write at length, I leave it to the envoys to tell you everything.

"Take care of your health. Accept these hasty lines.

"September 27th—October 24th, 1623.

(Signed)

"Uta no Kami Fujiwara Tadayo."

(Red Seal.)

5. LETTER OF THE OKYA SI DHAMMARAT OF SIAM TO DOI TOSHIKATSU.

"The Okya Si Dhammarat of Siam respectfully addresses a letter to His Excellency Doi Oye no Kami of Japan."

[This letter is identical with that addressed to Sakai Uta no Kami.]

6. REPLY OF DOI TOSHIKATSU TO THE OKYA SI DHAMMARAT OF SIAM.

"Oye no Kami Fujiwara Toshikatsu, a Servant of Japan, replies to His Excellency the Treasurer Okya Si Dhammarat of Siam.

"We have reported to His Highness the Shōgun the arrival of two envoys bearing a fine epistle, a courteous letter, stating that the envoys of the autumn of the year before last, when the correspondence began, had delivered to the King the reply of His Highness the Shōgun, and that they had just returned, having heard much of the civilized manners and customs of this country. His Highness happened to be at Kiōto. They have paid their respects to him there, and the presents have been received. A reply has been written and presents in return prepared, which please be so good as to lay before your King.

"I likewise by the order of the Prince of your honoured country have received a letter, from which I learn with pleasure that he is happy and well. I am greatly obliged for the three kinds of presents which you have bestowed on me.

"As to the annual visits of merchant vessels, we entirely concur in your proposals. The more our friendly relations develop, the greater the benefit to both parties.

"We cannot but satisfy the request of the envoys for some good Japanese horses. I have found a horse of noble blood, which I venture to present in the hope that Your Excellency will deign to accept him. Pray take care of your health while the autumn breezes continue.

"An incomplete communication.

(September 27th, October 24th, 1623.)

"Oye no Kami Fujiwara no Toshikatsu."

(Red Seal.)

7. REPLY OF ITAKURA SHIGEMUNE TO THE OKYA SI DHAMMARAT OF SIAM.

"Itakura Suwō no Kami Minamoto no Ason Shigemune replies to the Treasurer Okya Si Dhammarat of Siam.

"It is a great pleasure to have received your letter, which enables us to converse as it were face to face though separated by a thousand leagues. I have learned that the prince of your honoured country is well and prosperous, on which I beg to offer my felicitations and congratulations. Your special envoys, who have travelled hither from a great distance, have returned thanks for the friendly relations of past years. This has given great pleasure to the Prince of my country.

"I and the others who receive his commands have enabled the two special envoys to have an audience of my Prince, and the golden letter and presents sent from Siam have been severally received.

"These facts will be found in my Prince's reply, which has been delivered to the two envoys, together with verbal messages.

"I have received with thanks the two elephant's tusks and the four pieces of white cloth which you have sent to me, and I am indebted to you in no small measure. The ancients in their intercourse with neighbours distinguished between affairs of greater and lesser importance, and I approve of the principle. The sea is now smooth. It will be a fortunate thing for both parties if merchant ships henceforward seek our ports every year, exchanging that which they have for that which they have not, bringing what is worthless and returning home with articles of value. Insignificant as they are, I send you a pair of gold-covered screens, rather as a token of friendship than for their own sake. I humbly beg that you will understand the foregoing. An imperfect communication. Last decade of the intercalary 8th month of the year of the hog. (October, 15th—24th, 1623.)"

IVTH SERIES.

LETTER FROM MAKINO NOBUNARI TO THE SIAMESE MINISTER.

"Makino Takumi no Kāmi Nobunari of Japan respectfully addresses a letter to His Excellency the Treasurer Okya Si Dhammarat of Siam.

"Having found an opportunity by sailing vessel, I send you a letter from afar. I beg to congratulate you on your prosperity. A year or two ago I had the honour to receive a letter from you; when I opened the seal it gave me as much joy and comfort as if we were conversing face to face. I was also the recipient of several presents, for which I am deeply grateful. Since then I have been wishing to reply, but it

has been difficult to communicate by sea, so that I have not been able to carry out my intention, and have given you the pain of expecting an answer. I pray you to forgive me. Should my name be mentioned in the presence of your honoured country's King, I trust to Your Excellency's accustomed kindness.

"The bearer of this, who is now proceeding to your honoured country, is a ship-master well known to me.

"I pray Your Excellency to treat him well, and to give him every facility for his trade and for the exchange of commodities, for from it the advantage of both parties may be expected.

"If Your Excellency should desire anything from my country, you have only to command and I shall obey to the best of my power. Insignificant as it is, I have the honour to send Your Excellency a complete suit of armour made in this country, as a small token of the genuineness of my sentiments. The feelings and circumstances of our two countries differ, and I will therefore only humbly pray you to take this into your enlightened consideration.

"A lucky hour in the 8th month of the year of the bull (September, 1625.)"

SERIES V.

1. LETTER OF A SIAMESE OFFICIAL TO SAKAI TADAYO.

"The Ok-Phrayah Si Dhammarat Ammat Yanuchit Phephit Rātāna Raxa Kosa Thibodi,⁸ respectfully addresses a letter to His Worship Sakai Uta no Kami, servant of Japan.

"I venture to observe that your institutions are enlightened and your administration well organized. You bravely keep order throughout the country, and your feudatories are strong as a castle wall. You protect and cherish the common people, and the whole nation rejoices as it were with song and dance. Your glorious government has always been widely known, and its splendid fame is widely spread. My country's King is greatly rejoiced thereat.

"I am commanded by my country's King Phrabat Somdet Bōrōm Bophit Phrah Phūtthi Chāo Yuhua Phrah Phūtthi Chāo Krung Māha

⁸This is the title of the Phra-khan or Treasurer, who according to Siamese custom is also Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Nākhon Thavara-vādi Si Ajuthaja^o to say: All men look up to the same sky, but nations occupy different portions of the earth. Of all the countries the sea contains, my country and Japan are reputed the chief.

"In the olden time even when there was no communication by ships crossing the seas, we heard by common report of your honoured country's dignity, honours and great fame, and now wherever far and near assemble and ships or wagons come, I am confident that the inhabitants of all lands regard yours as differing from their own as the heavens above do from the depths below, in the nobility of its soil and superiority of its people. Heaven has at last afforded us a fortunate opportunity of union in the bonds of friendship, and our joy exceeds all our wishes. But the ocean prevents our closer intercourse, and we are unable to content our long-cherished desire of approaching nearer to your dazzling brightness. Though merchant ships succeed each other in unbroken line, we have not been able to receive news of you. You have repeatedly commanded your noble envoys to visit us on purpose to let us know that the land enjoys peace, and that you are fortunate in all your doings. Even supposing that all nations were to envy the glorious fame of the earnest affection which so happily exists between our two countries, what could surpass this?

In the year of the hog (1623) we despatched special envoys to deliver a brief letter and some trifling presents, to ask after your health and express our respect. The envoys in return had the honour to receive your elegant epistles and generous gifts. We learnt that the government of your honoured country was tranquil and your manners and customs admirable, and that you were willing to maintain friendly relations of lasting alliance; but this was only by the report given to us by our envoys and we were not yet satisfied. We seemed to feel that there was still something to regret.

"By the grace of your honoured country's King this land is at peace, the people happy, and the harvests are bountiful. But the rebellion in Cambodia being still unsuppressed, we are firmly resolved to equip an army for its subjugation and only to cease when it has returned to its

^o The Sacred Foot, the Eminent Lord, the Sacred and Wise Lord Above, the Sacred and Wise Lord of the City, the Great City of Many Gates, the Impregnable. This is still King Phra Chao Song-tham.

allegiance. We respectfully despatch Khun Raxa Sithi-phon and the interpreter Vathi Vachana Ongat bearing letters, to inform your honoured country's King of these facts. We are perfectly aware of his sentiments, that he looks upon our country as his own, and that we may hope for a continuance of his friendship as long as the heavens and earth, the sun and moon endure. We desire moreover that envoys from one to the other may come and go without intermission. If there is anything that you want, only command and you shall be obeyed. Let the merchant ships whenever they go be allowed every facility, and let trade be unimpeded, so that they may return quickly. We hope our prayers in this respect will be accorded. Hluang Chaija sun, lately promoted to be Phrayah Khun Raxa Muntri, despatched a vessel to trade three years ago which has not yet returned, for what reason we know not. We hope that by your powerful aid she may be protected and sent back, so shall we be infinitely grateful.

"My country's King greatly admires the noble steeds produced in your honoured country. Some years ago we sent people to make purchases, but have not yet obtained any of superior breed. We venture to trouble you to make inquiry for some very good horses, and permit our officials to buy them. We are earnestly bent upon getting them, in order to satisfy the long-cherished wishes of our country's King. You, oh enlightened Sir, assist yours with loyalty and truth, and help both nations to be as one family. This is a great achievement. We beg that you will grant our officers an answer, and let them return quickly.

"We pray you to accept this imperfect expression of our sentiments.

[Red Seal.]

"Respectfully written in the last day of the 4th month of the year of the tiger (1625).

"*Enclosure.*

"Respectfully provided :

"4 pieces of flowered stuff;

"4 pieces of white gauze;

in order to show our respect. If you accept them, it will be a great joy to us."

2. SAKAI TADAYO'S REPLY TO THE SIAMESE MINISTER.

"Uta no kami Fujiwara no Tadayo, servant of Japan, replies to His Honour the Siamese Minister.

"I have read and re-read the elegant letter which has come from afar, and I have received with both gratitude and shame the flowered stuff and white gauze of which you have bestowed on me four pieces each. I am extremely glad to learn that the reply which I addressed to you some years back has safely reached your hands. I likewise am informed of your wish that the merchants who have been kept here, should be caused to return. We should have ordered them to do so before, but they have been detained till late by their trade. We have left it to them to return by this vessel, that they may be restored to their native country, and arrive at their homes.

"We hear that your honoured country has rebels on its borders, and desires to chastise them.

"It is obvious that the weak cannot withstand the strong; before many days we trust you will subdue them.

"We can have no reason for grudging to you the good horses produced in our country which you ask for. The envoys have inspected them and made purchases. I offer besides one noble steed as a token of my humble sentiments, and beg you to report this to your King.

"As to good faith with a respected neighbour, and the going to and fro of merchant ships, the more the better. It is unnecessary to say more; I beg you humbly to wisely understand the foregoing.

"10th month of the year of the tiger.

(Signed) "Uta no Kami Fujiwara Tadayo."

No. 8 of this series, from the same Siamese official to Doi Toshikatsu is identical with the letter addressed to Sakai Tadayo. The is reply somewhat differently worded, as follows:—

No. 4.

"Oye no Kami Fujiwara Toshikatsu, servant of Japan, replies to His Excellency the Minister of Siam.

"Your envoys have arrived by a merchant vessel and I have received

a letter and two kinds of presents, for which I am most grateful. I esteem myself fortunate in that my answer of some years back has been laid before your clear vision.

"I learn that your honoured country desires to chastise the rebels on its frontier. War is a dreadful weapon. It is never to be resorted to when it can be avoided. But peace cannot be secured by indolently refraining from taking up arms.

"My country is at peace within its borders, and its manners and customs are pure and civilized, as your envoys have learnt by experience. In our intercourse there must be no feeling of estrangement. We have not in the slightest degree impeded the merchants who have been kept here for some years past, but they have been detained by their trade. We have left it to their own inclination to return by this vessel.

"The King of your honoured country desires to see some of our good horses. Those which were procured before were not fleet of foot, and he has again greatly desired to obtain some. We of course do not grudge them to you, and the envoys have been free to purchase. Your humble servant offers one horse, which he begs you to present to your King. Other matters I leave to a subsequent letter.

"Take care of your health. An imperfect communication. 10th month of the year of the tiger.

(Signed) "Ôye no Kami Fujiwara no Toshikatsu."

SERIES VI.

About the end of October, 1629, three Siamese envoys arrived at Yedo, and were lodged at the monastery of Kô-toku-ji in the district of Shitaya. The ship in which they performed the voyage to Nagasaki was equipped by Yamada Jizayemon. It appears to have been manned by a mixed crew from Ligor, Patani, Malacca, Cambodia and Champa (Annam), and to have been commanded by a Chinese captain. Their names were Hluang Sakhondt, Lhun Savatdi and Khun Yotahmat.

On the 4th November they visited the Shôgun Iyemitsu and his father the ex-Shôgun Hidetada. The former was now installed in the *Hommaru*, while the latter occupied the *Nishi no Maru*.¹⁰ At this in-

¹⁰ The same forms were observed as in 1621.

terview they delivered the letters and presents with which they were charged. The letter was written on a sheet of gold, a Chinese version, which is all we have, being annexed. These were enclosed in an ivory cylinder wrapped in a bag, as on previous occasions.

The object of their mission was to announce the accession of King Phra Athitwong and to ask for a continuance of the existing friendly relations between the two countries. Letters were also addressed to the Shōgun's Ministers Doi, Sakai and Itakura. Yamada Jizayemon wrote by the same opportunity to Sakai, and there were presents for not only the Shōguns and Ministers, but also to the Shōgun's resident (*dai-kwan*) at Nagasaki and the mayor of the town. The envoys had their audience of leave on the 16th November. Gifts of wadded robes and silver were made to them, and a reply for the King was handed to them, accompanied by presents.

Answers were also sent by the two ministers Sakai and Doi to the Siamese minister, as well as to Yamada Jizayemon.

1. LETTER FROM THE KING OF SIAM TO THE SHŌGUN.

MEMORIAL OF THE KING OF SIAM.

"Nai Sōmdēt Bōrōm Bophīt Phrah Chāo Vōrā Phana Māha Nākhon Thavara vādi Si Ajūthaja Māha Dilōk Phōb Nōphā Rātā Raxa thani Būri Rōm, King of Siam, respectfully addresses a letter to His Highness the King of Japan.

"We have been told that the ancient founders of states made the practice of humanity their first principle, and that the main secret of their policy was intercourse with their neighbours.

"Accordingly my deceased father designed to enter into relations with distant states, and by good fortune the benefits derived from friendly intercourse are of old date in the case of your honoured country. Having recently succeeded to the throne, courtesy behoves me to renew and continue our alliance, and I am earnestly disposed to entertain the most cordial sentiments, so that our friendship may be more than ever increased, and that we may mutually hope for its perpetuation without change, to the great happiness of us both.

"I regard the traders of your honoured country as I do my own

subjects, and I have instructed my officers to save them expense in every way, to facilitate their trade, and to assist their speedy return home.

"I now despatch my special envoys Hluang Sakhondēt, Khun Savatdi and Khun Yotahmat, bearing a golden letter and gifts to be presented to you, to ask after your health and to renew our relations of amity. I wish to send ships and envoys every year, that communications may be kept up without a break, and that I may learn that your country is at peace within its borders, the harvests abundant, the administration untroubled and the people happy.

"My poor country has but few productions of value, but whatever you may desire, your commands shall be attended to. May we long maintain our friendship, thus mutually honouring the practice of the wise departed, by which means we shall secure harmony and peace.

"Your exalted praise will confer great happiness on me.

"Besides this, there is a golden letter and a list of presents.

"Translated on the last day of the fourth moon of the year of the serpent (28rd April 1629)."

List of presents respectfully prepared.

First quality eagle-wood.

Second quality eagle-wood.

First quality Borneo¹¹ camphor.

Second quality Borneo camphor. One catty of each, Siamese weight.

4 pieces of European satin.

5 pieces of European figured sarcenet.

2 pieces of figured drugget.

5 piculs of ivory.

For the ex-Shōgun.

1 catty of eagle-wood.

1 catty of Borneo camphor.

Both Siamese weight.

2 pieces of European satin.

4 pieces of purple silk cloth.

4 pieces of European figured sarcenet.

¹¹ The use of this name does not imply that the drug was procured from Borneo. It is produced in Siam.

2. REPLY OF THE SHÔGUN TO THE KING OF SIAM.

"Minamoto Iyemitsu of Japan replies to His Honour the King of Siam.

"I have received your letter from afar and have understood the very friendly sentiments you express therein. It has given me unconstrained joy. I have moreover received several kinds of presents, the precious productions of a strange country, which I value infinitely.

"To love humanity and be good to one's neighbours was the principle of government adopted by the ancient founders of states. Your honoured country seeks for friendly intercourse with mine, and to refuse it would be immoral. From the time of your predecessor there has long been intercourse between us. There should be not the slightest impediment to its continual growth, and to the constant traffic of merchant ships between the two countries. Do not wonder at the civilization of Japan; it is what your three envoys have seen for themselves.

"I have noted on the annexed slip a few trifling productions of this country which I send herewith, and I shall esteem myself fortunate if you will favour me by accepting them.

"Take care of your health at all seasons.

"Day of the 9th month of the year of the serpent, being the 6th of Kwan-yei. (October 17th—Nov. 14th, 1629)."

3 pair of gold screens (covered with gold leaf).

3 sets of armour.

2 sabres.

3 swift horses (with saddle and other furniture complete).

2 swift horses (with saddle and other furniture complete).

(The latter were sent by the ex-Shôgun.)

Gifts from the Shôgun to the Embassy.

To the senior envoy 200 pieces of silver¹³ and 10 wadded silk robes.

To the second envoy 100 pieces of silver and 10 wadded silk robes.

To the junior envoy (who acted as Siamese interpreter) 50 pieces of silver and six wadded silk robes.

¹³The piece of silver current at this period weighed about 5.2 oz. Troy, and was 8 parts fine. Comparing the prices of rice in 1626 and at the present time, silver appears to have been one-third more valuable than it is now.

To the Japanese interpreter Goyemon 20 pieces of silver and 1 wadded silk robe.

GIFTS FROM THE EX-SHÔGUN.

To the senior envoy 100 pieces of silver.

To the second envoy 50 pieces of silver.

To the junior envoy 30 pieces of silver.

To the Japanese interpreter 20 pieces of silver.

8. LETTER FROM THE SIAMESE MINISTER TO SAKAI TADAYO.

“ The Okya Vathi Phra-klang Si Dhammarat addresses a letter to His Honour Sakai Uta no Kami, servant of Japan. In accordance with my office I am commanded by my country’s King to say ‘ In the 11th month of the year of the dragon my father, the late King, ascended to heaven, and I have recently succeeded to the throne.

“ ‘ I have learnt that when my father the late King was alive, friendly intercourse and good feeling existed with Japan, and her vassals sent ships to trade and to keep up communications, so that a union of sentiment linked the two countries. At the commencement therefore of my reign, courtesy requires me to renew and continue our alliance, and I am earnestly disposed to entertain the most cordial sentiments, so that our mutual friendship may be more than ever increased though we are separated by the ocean. Merchant ships constantly go and come, and communication is unbroken, just as if we conversed face to face. I have ordered my officers to write a letter expressing my sentiments, and we may mutually forward the perpetuation of our relations without change. It is a fortunate coincidence designed by Heaven to unite us in the closest bonds of good faith. I hope that the traffic of ships may go on without a break, that each party may aid and give facilities to the other, and that they may be enabled speedily to return home. This will be for the benefit of both parties.’ In virtue of my office I send the envoys, Hlung Sakhondët, Khun Savatdi and Khun Yotahmat and the interpreter, bearing a golden letter and presents, consisting of eagle-wood of the first and second qualities (a catty of each by Siamese weight), Borneo camphor of the first and second qualities (a catty of each by Siamese weight), 4 pieces of European satin, 5 pieces of European figured sarcenet,

2 pieces of flowered carpet and 5 piculs of ivory to be presented to your honoured country's King. He also presents to the ex-King a catty each by Siamese weight of eagle-wood and Borneo camphor, 2 pieces of European satin, 4 pieces purple silk cloth, 4 pieces of gold and silver twilled satin, 4 pieces of European figured saracenit, which I would trouble you to cause to be presented when they arrive. I rely upon your graciously enabling this to be done. My country's King also sends Your Honour 2 piculs of ivory, 5 pieces of pongee, 5 pieces of European figured saracenit, to which I add 1 piece of figured saracenit, and 8 pieces of silk, as a slight token of my esteem, and shall deem myself fortunate if you will favour me by accepting them. Last day of the 4th month of the year of the serpent."

4. REPLY OF SAKAI TADAYO AND DOI TOSHIKATSU TO THE SIAMESE MINISTER.

"Sakai Uta no Kami Tadayo and Doi Oye no Kami Toshikatsu, servants of Japan, humbly reply to the respected Okya Vathi Phraklang Si Dhammarat, servant of Siam.

"Your honoured country's three envoys have arrived in this country bearing a golden letter and presents. We two, having taken counsel together, reported the matter to the two Shôguns. It is agreeable to be able to announce that they have paid their respects as is fitting. Opening your letters to ourselves, we have become acquainted with the commands of the King of your honoured country, to the effect that the late King ascended to heaven in the winter of last year, which tidings shocked us greatly. Owing to the length of time which it takes to receive news from distant parts, we have failed to offer our condolence, an apparent act of haughtiness which is not so. The lord of my country concurs in the wish expressed by the new King, following the excellent policy of the late King, that the intercourse with our country may increase, and that merchant ships may go to and fro with frequency.

"He has accordingly prepared a reply, which has been handed to the three envoys, together with presents, to be laid before your King, and it is hoped that they will give him pleasure. We two have also received the gifts of your honoured country's King, which we accept as instances of his bounty, and we have no words to express our grateful joy. We

beg each to offer, trifling as they are, a swift horse, with saddle and furniture complete, and shall esteem ourselves fortunate if you will transmit them.

"As regards the administration of this realm, the seas are tranquil and the rivers pure; the country is at peace and the people happy. We entrust to the three envoys to tell you what we have not set down in writing, and the rest we leave to our next letter.

"An imperfect communication. — day of the ninth moon of the year of the serpent, being the 6th of Kwan-yei (October 17th,—November 14th, 1629).

"*Postscript.*—We send 20 pieces each of bleached cotton cloth as a slight token of our esteem for you, and pray you to accept them."

5. REPLY OF ITAKURA SHIGEMUNE TO THE SIAMESE MINISTER.

"Itakura suwō no Kami Minamoto no Ason Shigemune of Japan replies to the Okya Vathi Phra-klang Si Dhammarat of Siam.

"I have received and read with great satisfaction the letter you have favoured me with, and if it were not from a far distant country, I should almost imagine I was listening to your very words. By it I have been made aware that the late King of your honoured country is dead, and I feel as unconstrained grief at this tidings which reach me from so many thousand miles away, as if it had happened on the spot. I beg to offer my felicitations on the accession of his heir.

"I learn moreover that, mindful of the instructions left him by your late Lord, he has despatched three envoys, in order respectfully to renew the ancient relations, and I appreciate profoundly his generous intentions. I and the Ministers reported this to the lord of our country, who granted an audience to the envoys. They duly delivered the golden letter and presents with which they were charged. All this will be learnt from my Lord's reply and from the verbal explanations given to the three envoys.

"I have received the 2 piculs of ivory, 5 pieces of pongee and 4 pieces of European sarcenet which have been sent to me, and thank heartily for the noble gift. I would venture to beg you to express my thanks. You have also presented me with 1 piece of figured sarcenet, and 2 pieces of silk, for which I am truly obliged.

"Friendship between neighbours has always been based on right conduct, and has nothing to do with distance. The waves are now quiet and merchant vessels can go to and fro, to the mutual benefit of both countries.

"Trifling objects as they are, I send you a pair of screens covered with gold leaf, as a small return for your gifts. May we always remain on friendly terms.

"Accept this imperfect assurance of my sentiments.

"Last decade of the 10th month of the year of the serpent (5th—14th December, 1629).

6. LETTER OF YAMADA NAGAMASA, RESIDENT IN SIAM, TO A RETAINER OF SAKAI TADAYO.

"I have had the honour to receive your letter. I humbly have the honour to feel that it was a most bountiful piece of fortune for me that you were so good as to bring to His Highness' notice the small quantity of things that I had the honour to offer up to him last year. I have gratefully had the honour to receive the five pair of leather breeches that your honour has graciously bestowed upon me. The Lord of this country last year suddenly deigned to depart to a distant place,¹³ and the new King has sent a golden letter to announce his succession. The envoys are Khun Sakondēt, Khun Satsadi and Khun Yothamat, and an interpreter, Nigozayemon no Jō.

"I have provided them with a vessel. I beg you to be so good as to represent this in the proper quarter.

"I should have sent a vessel last year, but the Portuguese pirates hindered [blank], and it was impossible to pass. Hence my acknowledgment comes late. I have the honour to beg that the annual vessel may be sent here as usual.

"It is my earnest desire to obtain the passport for which I have petitioned;¹⁴ this is really a matter involving the reputation of Japan, and therefore I have the honour earnestly to beg for it.

¹³Euphemism for the death of the King of Siam.

¹⁴That is, that a pass (*go-shu-in*) should be granted for a junk to Siam.

"It is extremely bold of me, but I wish to offer some small matters to their two Highnesses. If you thing fit, please be so good as to bring the presents to their exalted notice.

"As a very trifling token from myself, I have the honour to send His Honour ten pieces of red crape and two figured carpets, by way of wishing you good luck. Pray be so good as to represent this in the proper light.

"Represented with fear and respect.

"3rd day of the 3rd moon of the year of the serpent (March 27th, 1629). Yamada Jizaeyemon no Jô Nagamasa.

"To be presented to Seki Chikara no Suke Dono."

7. REPLY OF SAKAI TADAYO TO YAMADA NAGAMASA.

"I have perused your honoured ink. I lament and regret profoundly the tidings that the late Prince of your honoured country has passed away like water. I have reported to Their Highnesses the two Shôguns that the new Lord has sent envoys to present a golden letter and have crossed the sea with presents by way of announcing his succession.

"They have, I am happy to say, duly paid their respects, and a reply has been prepared and given to the three envoys. The presents offered by yourself have also been accepted.

"The two kinds of articles which you have bestowed upon my humble self have also been received according to the list thereof, and many thanks for your generosity. I send you in return 20 pieces of bleached cotton cloth, as a trifling mark of friendship. We should mutually take interest in the intercourse by merchant ships. The rest I leave to be told by the tongues of the three envoys.

"An imperfect communication.

"3rd of the 10th moon of the year of the serpent, being the 6th of Kwan-yei. (November 17th, 1629.)

"Sakai Uta no Kami Tadayo. [L.S.]

"To Yamada Jizaeyemon Dono."

From this time onwards official communication between the two countries was dropped. Van Vliet¹⁵ states that this sudden interruption to the friendly relations that had formerly existed was due to the refusal of the Japanese to acknowledge Phra-chão Phrasa thong, and he adds that for this reason the Siamese envoys were sent back without being able to fulfil the object of their mission. Possibly this usurper, who as we shall see further on had grievously maltreated the Japanese settlers, was himself conscious that he could not look for a continuation of the previous exchange of friendly correspondence.

"He has also, through the Bérckélagh,¹⁶ sent envoys with letters "and suitable presents to the governors of Nagasaki in Japan, to excuse "his previous proceedings, with offers of his friendship and invitations "to the Japanese merchants to come again to Siam, and although the "embassies were never received by the governors of Nagasaki with "appropriate honour, and the last envoy was turned away most insult- "ingly, and told that the master who had sent him was no lawful King, "but an usurper, traitor and murderer, who had unrighteously slain "the rightful heirs and princes of the blood, and the aforesaid envoy "had to leave Japan in disgrace without accomplishing his mission and "with his junk still loaded with her cargo, yet at the time of my de- "parture from Siam His Majesty had resolved to send an embassy to "the Emperor of Japan and his councillors, in order to seek after the "same friendship as before, and to gain the goodwill of the Japanese "merchants. Which notion in my opinion was forged on an anvil of "divers considerations, and was constantly suggested to the King by "certain flatterers in search of their own advantage, who persuaded him "that the Japanese trade was of importance; amongst whom some "of the Japanese resident there also played their part, seeing that they "are very poor and despised, and (not without reason) feed themselves "constantly with the hope that the appearance of junks from Japan "will increase their worldly means, honours and reputation. But it is

¹⁵Oud, vol. 3, Bk. 6, p. 63. Beschrijving van het Koninkrijk Siam, Leiden, 1692, p. 44. The author resided in Siam from 1636 to 1642, and wrote this work in 1638.

¹⁶The Phra-klang, a treasurer, who discharged the functions of foreign minister, or more strictly, superintendent of trade.

“ contrary to the natural course of things, and directly opposed to Siamese
 “ pride, that a King should so humble himself for the sake of a small
 “ profit, before those who can do him little harm, and when it is known
 “ to him on various authority, that during the lifetime of the present
 “ Japanese emperor, it is not likely that any Japanese will leave their
 “ own country, or those who are abroad return to it. Then why should
 “ friendship be sought for in such self-abasement ? But the Siamese
 “ statesmen are able to entirely disguise the motive, and to give to it
 “ the colour of His Majesty's being well disposed towards foreign-
 “ ers, and especially determined to be at peace with all neighbouring
 “ Kings, princes and potentates ; in order to possess his kingdom in
 “ tranquillity and die as a Prince of Peace.”¹⁷

Van Vliet further says : “ Some Japanese merchants for a long
 “ time frequented the kingdom of Siam, and appeared there yearly with
 “ their junks, capital and merchandize, principally in order to enjoy the
 “ profit which the Siamese deer- and ray-skins used to yield. Of these
 “ appetizing gains they became so greedy the (seeing that abundance of
 “ living in the country) some remained resident there, whereby the
 “ inclination of the Siamese Kings (who have always been fond of
 “ foreign merchants) toward of the Japanese nation, especially on ac-
 “ count of the quantity of silver that was yearly brought to Siam
 “ by the traders in their junks, so increased, that their majesties sent
 “ various embassies with suitable presents and letters full of friendly
 “ compliments to the Emperor of Japan. These were always well
 “ received there, as appeared in the years 1629 and 1680 on the occa-
 “ sion of the last embassies that went to Japan from Siam. But owing
 “ to the greatly augmented concourse of the Japanese in Siam, their
 “ inborn pride and insolence increased to such an extent that they at
 “ last attacked the palace with desperation, seized the King in his own
 “ chamber and did not let him again out of their tyrannical hands, until
 “ he conceded to them many advantages, and his majesty had sworn to
 “ them that he would never remember nor take vengeance for the injury
 “ they had wrought him, but retain them in his service to the end of his
 “ life as soldiers and life-guards. These vows remained in force, whereby

¹⁷ Van Vliet, same work, p. 45.

"these rascals, by means of their usurped advantages, were guilty of
 "great insolence and open force against both native and foreign mer-
 "chants. But fortune, who is wont to requite her favourites bitterly,
 "so excited the indignation of the reigning King against the Japanese
 "(who had zealously served him however in his iniquity when he usurped
 "the throne) that out of fear of their ambitious designs and in order to
 "escape their treachery (which according to their rash assertions was
 "very evident and imminent), as a righteous punishment for their
 "disloyal acts toward lawful princes and heirs of the realm, he killed
 "many with cunning and force, drove others hostilely out of the coun-
 "try, and thus disburthened and purified Siam (to the joy of the in-
 "habitants); to the great contentment of the great lords and nobles of
 "the realm, who had always considered the Japanese as untrustworthy
 "and injurious to the commonwealth, an account of the desperate, auda-
 "cious and treacherous seizure of their King (which has been before
 "related). And out of about 600 Japanese 60 or 70 returned to Japan
 "in a junk (after many hardships), the rest being slain or fled in many
 "directions. Wherefore it was resolved with good cause that the
 "Siamese Kings should no more lightly take Japanese soldiers into their
 "service, nor should any junks resort from Japan to Siam, for fear
 "lest the ones should take occasion to avenge the others. But in spite
 "of the general feeling, his majesty after a short interval of time caused
 "the fugitive Japanese to be recalled (apparently out of fear of their
 "vengeance), and as they were about 70 or 80 at their arrival, has given
 "them a fine lot of ground for their habitations, conferred titles of
 "honour on three of the principal men, and made them chiefs over the
 "rest, and divided them among his mandarins."¹⁸

The Japanese records do not make any mention of these attempts
 at a renewal of the former intercourse during the reign of Phra-chão

¹⁸Same work, p. 43. The "Beschryving" was written in 1638, apparently
 after only two years acquaintance with Siam. Van Vliet's later work, composed in
 1645, gives a much fuller and more correct account of these incidents. It is worth
 noting that Valentyn reproduces these two passages almost word for word in his
 "Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien," vol. 3, bk. 6, without acknowledgment of the source
 whence he had taken them, or any indication that they are derived from another
 author.

Phrasa-thong. But in the reign of his immediate successor Ohaofah Chhai, on the 9th July, 1656,¹⁹ a Siamese vessel with envoys on board arrived at Nagasaki. They were bearers of a letter which denied the reports of the Japanese merchants having been expelled from the country with fire and sword. On the contrary, Siam was desirous of continuing the old commercial relations. This letter was written in the Siamese language, with an interlinear Chinese translation, and was accompanied by presents. The matter was referred to Yedo, but with the result that the envoys were informed of the edict issued in 1636 by which Japanese were prohibited from leaving the country, and of the consequent impossibility of complying with the request to be allowed to trade. The presents were declined, but permission was given to the crew (who were probably Chinese or Malays) to land. The Captain was allowed to dispose of a small part of the cargo, in order to purchase supplies of food, fuel and water, and the vessel set sail again on the 16th October.

This put a final stop to direct communication between the two countries, but the prohibition was afterward relaxed, in so far that Chinese residents in Siam were permitted to trade as members of the Chinese factory at Nagasaki.

The last letters of which copies are given in the *Gwai-Han Tsū-sho* are dated 1687. The first of these is addressed by the Royal Treasurer of Siam to "His Highness the King of Japan." It says that the articles of trade from Japan to Siam formerly consisted of lacquer, copper, gold and silver ware, which were far superior to anything that Siam could produce. In 1685 a Siamese trading junk, one of a fleet bound for Japan, had been lost in a storm. The rest had been allowed to dispose of only a limited portion of their cargo, solely just enough to pay the expenses of the return voyage. They were unable to obtain any Japanese goods in exchange for the remainder. One of them was lost off the coast of Annam on her way back to Siam. In 1686 two vessels were despatched, but were accorded no greater facilities than the fleet of the previous year, and brought back information to the effect that the trade with Japan was limited by decree to a certain annual value. This law the writer considered to be extremely wise, and all Siam desired

¹⁹ Tsū-kō Ichi-ran, bk. 268.

was for her junks to be able to reach Japan early enough in the year to have their share in the trade, but the great length of the voyage rendered this impracticable. Siam was, however, connected with Japan by much closer ties of friendship than any other foreign country, and he ventured therefore to despatch a single junk to purchase the articles before-mentioned, with the prayer that the recipient of the letter would so represent matters to the Shôgun as to procure leave for Siam to trade to the same amount as the Dutch [Red Barbarians.]

Confirmation of the statement that Siam, notwithstanding the prohibition of the direct trade, continued to carry on commerce with Japan, is afforded by the European writers, of the period.

De Chaumont, whose Embassy to Siam took place in 1685-6, says²⁰ that the King was in the habit of sending two or three junks annually to Japan laden with silver coin, in return for which they brought back gold, bar-silver, copper, goldsmith's work, screens, lacquered cabinets, porcelain and tea, and in the list of presents sent by Phra Narai and Phaulkon to Louis XIV and the members of the French royal family a large number of Japanese articles of 'vertu' are enumerated. His colleague, the amusing Abbe de Choisy, speaks of seeing Japanese junks at anchor before Ayuthia.²¹ But in this assertion he is evidently mistaken. Père Tachard on the contrary tells²² us that the trade between Siam and Japan was carried on by the Chinese. Laloubère, who was in Siam in 1687-8, speaks of copper being imported from Japan,²³ and of the large export of deer-skins thither by the Dutch factory. In fact,²⁴ the trade was in the hands of the Dutch and Chinese. Gervaise²⁵ writes: "The Emperors of Japan were likewise on very good terms with the King of Siam, and scarcely a year passed when they did not make presents and write familiarly to each other, but as soon as they learnt that Chakri, named Châou-Pasâ-thông, had usurped the crown of Siam, they began to distrust the Siamese,

²⁰Relation de L'Ambassade de M. Chaumont. Paris, 1686, p. 150.

²¹Journal du Voyage de Siam, Paris, 1687, p. 360.

²²Voyage des Pères Jesuites, Amsterdam, 1687.

²³Du Royaume de Siame, Paris, 1691, 2 vols, vol i, p. 71.

²⁴Ibid, p. 144.

²⁵Hist. Nat. et Civile du Royaume de Siam, Paris, 1689, p. 315.

"and this feeling so increased in the course of time that they have forbidden them access to the country, as they have done to all the nations of the world with the exception of the Chinese, in whom they have perfect confidence. As the King of Siam has numbers of Chinese in his dominions, it is by their means that he continues to carry on the commerce with the Japanese, which has always been so profitable to him. Every year he sends to Japan several of his vessels manned by Chinese accompanied by some Siamese mandarins, who have an eye to all that goes on; though they are never allowed to set foot on shore, they do not fail to get news of what happens in the country, and to take their measures for profiting thereby without leaving their ships."

In the *Tsū-kō Ichū-ran*²⁸ there are notices of the visits of Siamese junks on six several occasions, namely in 1680, 1687, 1693, 1716, 1718 and 1745. Advantage was each time taken by the Japanese to obtain information from members of the crews. That of 1716 ran ashore on the coast, and became a wreck, but the cargo and fuel were sold for the benefit of the shipwrecked mariners. Usually there were Siamese officials on board, but the crews were Chinese.

This is the latest Japanese record of intercourse with Siam that I have been able to discover.

It has been already observed that the native Siamese chronicles afford very little information with regard to the dealings between the two nations. They make no mention of the foregoing correspondence, nor of the frequent despatch of envoys to Japan. They are equally silent with regard to the trade of the Portuguese, English and Dutch, during the same period. This is perhaps not surprising, when we reflect that the *Phongsā-Vadan* is a recent work, and that no earlier record is extant. The old archives of the Kingdom of Ayuthia perished when that capital was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767, and the existing history was composed by the great-uncle of the present King from fragments preserved in monasteries, and from traditions surviving among the priests. But the writings of European travellers, and the journals of supercargoes and heads of trading factories now and then furnish a

²⁸ Bk. 269.

paragraph or an allusion which helps to supply the deficiency, and afford remarkable confirmation of the curious story of Yamada Nagamasa alluded to at the commencement of this paper. And the Japanese are now and then spoken of in the Phongsavadan in a way that shows that considerable numbers of them formerly resided in Siam. But before proceeding to speak at length of Yamada, I will put together some notices of the Japanese before him in Siam, gathered together from other sources.

The earliest mention of the Japanese occurs in the history of King Phra Naret Suan. Siam was invaded by the Burmese and Laos in 1579, and among the forces which successfully repelled the attack were 500 Japanese mercenaries. I have found no confirmation in non-Siamese sources. It is possible that they may have been introduced into the country by the Portuguese.

Floris, who was in Patani in 1608 and again in 1612, and died in 1615 after his return to England, says²⁷ that in 1605 the King of Siam, who had brought into subjection the Kingdom of Cambodia, Lauchang, Chiangmai, Ligor, Patani, Tenasserim, and several others, died without issue, and left his dominions to his brother. These two Princes are distinguished by the European writers of that age as the Black King and the White King.

On the decease of the latter, he was succeeded by his second son, who put to death a nobleman named Jokkrommeway,²⁸ who had hankered after the throne. Among Jokkrommeway's slaves were 280 Japanese, "who thinking to revenge their master's death, and to achieve "some memorable exploit, ran to the Palace; and surprising it, compelled the new King to deliver four of the principal Nobles to be slain, "as Causes of their Master's Death. Having, after this, used him for "some time at their discretion, they forced him to subscribe, with his "own Blood, such Conditions as they proposed to him; and to give "some of the chief *Palapos*, or Priests, for Hostages. This done, they "committed great Outrages, and departed with immense Treasures; the "*Siamites* not being able to help themselves."

²⁷ Astley's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. i, p. 439.

²⁸ In Siamese *Okya Krom Naiwai*.

The dates here given do not agree with what we find in the Siamese annals, where the Black King [Phra Nare-suan] dies in 1594 and the White King [Ekatotsarot] in 1601. The latter was succeeded by his son Chăo-fa Si Sawapak. He was put to death in the following year by the King who is known in history as Phra-chăo Song-tham. In 1602 or 1603, says the chronicle, "the Japanese then in the capital became indignant, declaring that the Ministers were not just, that they had conspired with Phra Pimon Tham and murdered their King. The Japanese gathered a company of 500 and stationed themselves on the royal lawn to seize His Majesty, when he would come out and listen to the priests giving instructions in the throne hall. At that juncture eight priests from the temple Wat Phra-du-rong-tham entered and accompanied His Majesty past the Japanese. When the priests had accompanied His Majesty, the Japanese cried out, 'We came to seize His Majesty, why this inaction.' A great altercation took place among them. Phra Maha Ammat succeeded in collecting his forces, and a bloody contest ensued. Many Japanese fell. Those who got away from the Palace took to their junks and escaped. From that time forth Japanese vessels ceased to visit the Kingdom of Siam for the purposes of trade."²⁹

Pra Pimon-tham seems to be a name borne by Phra-chăo Song-tham, before he ascended the throne. The story as told by Floris differs considerably from the Siamese version of it. The discrepancy perhaps is owing not only to the distance between Ayuthia and Patani, but also to the lapse of years between the events he is speaking of and his first visit to the Peninsula. There are no traces in the Siamese annals of the "Jokkrommeway" who is said to have been the master of the Japanese that created the disturbance. Possibly he was only their official superior, and had employed them on behalf of Chăo-fa Si Sawapak.

We find Japanese navigating the Chinese sea as far back as 1592, and visiting Patani for trading purposes. In 1599 a junk belonging to that state arrived in Japan, having an envoy on board,³⁰ and this happened again in 1602. In December, 1605, the English navigator John Davis

²⁹ *Siam Weekly Advertiser*, June 13, 1878. Spelling of the names altered to correspond with Pallegois's orthography.

³⁰ Tsū-kō Ichi-ran, bk. 269.

lost his life in a fight with Japanese pirates off the coast of Patani.²¹ In the same year some correspondence passed between the King of Cambodia and Iyeyasu with regard to the misconduct of Japanese traders, and Iyeyasu in reply informed the King that he was at liberty to punish Japanese offenders according to the laws of Cambodia. The interchange of compliments was continued in 1606, when Iyeyasu sent a present of five gilded screens, and asked in return for a supply of eaglewood. The outcries against Japanese violence were continuous. In 1610 the King of Cambodia complained that they had been fighting with the people of Cochin-China and Champa, and committing acts of piracy against trading junks along the coast as far as the ports of Cambodia. Iyeyasu replied that he would willingly have punished these marauders, but they took care to keep out of his reach, and he recommended the King to take his own measures to keep them in order. Japanese were also accused of having had a hand in the murder in Cochin-China of an Englishman named Tempest Peacock, whose fate was for a long time involved in mystery. In 1614 Adam Denton, the English factor at Patani, wrote to the East India Company that he had "found two Japanese junks at Siam (i.e. Ayuthia), which had obtained "trade by force, having been prohibited to go without license within "the walls, for breach of which 8, all Japonners, were Killed in one day."²² In May, 1617, the English factors at Ayuthia, writing to Cocks at Hirado, mention a Japanese junk-master named "Shoby Dono" (Shōbei Dono) as trading between Siam and Nagasaki; he had been forced by foul weather to put into Champa. This person turns up several times in Cocks' Diary. Eaton, who had been to Siam in the junk *Sea Adventure*, writes about the same time to Sir Thomas Smythe, the Governor of the East India Company, informing him that in March of that year the factors at Ayuthia had sent a small pinnace to Champa with goods and money, manned entirely by Japanese, though commanded by an English captain.²³ There were Japanese servants in the

²¹ Colonial Papers, East Indies, 1513-1616, No. 336. Quoted from Purchas. See also "Voyages and Works of John Davis," London, Hakluyt Society, 1880, p. lxxv.

²² Colonial Papers, East Indies, 1513-1616, No 771.

English factory at Ayuthia, and we read that two of them lost their lives in a dispute between the head of the factory and an Englishman who seems to have held some official position in Siam (he is called the English umpire).³³ Cocks in his diary under the date of Dec. 19th, 1617, records that he has received a present from Ompera's father. He complains in several places of being forced to give passages to Japanese in the junk bound for Siam; and December 30th he makes an entry of letters written to the "English and Japon umpire." Mention is made also "of sturrs which happened in Cochin-China with Japons against "Chinas, whereof the King of Cochin-China advized thempereur of "their unrulynesse."³⁴ For a long time the crews of English, Dutch and Portuguese vessels engaged in the eastern trade were largely mauined by Japanese, but in 1621, the "King" of Hirado communicated to Cocks an order from "thempereur," no stranger should buy any slaves, other men or women, to send them out of the country, neither carry out any armor, cattans, lances, langanantes, poulder or shott, or guns, neither any Japon marrenars to goe in our shipping." The fact is, the Japanese were beginning to feel jealous of the Europeans on account of the profits they supposed the carrying trade to produce, and were resolved to get it as much as possible into their own hands. If it was worth the while of English and Dutch to buy Siamese produce to sell in Japan, it must be possible for the Japanese to do as well, and Cocks writes to the East India Company in 1620 says, "A company of such "usurers have gotten all the trade of Japan into their own handes. "And these fellowes are not content to have all at their own disposing "above,³⁵ but they come downe to Firando and Nangasaque, where "they joyne together in seting out of junckes for Syam, Cochinechina, "Tonkin, Camboja, or any other place where they understand that "good is to be donne, and soe furnish Japon with all sorts of com- "modities which any other stranger can bring."³⁶

These few quotations will be sufficient to show how active and enterprising the Japanese of those days were in commercial matters. That

³³ Cocks, p. 50, vol. ii.

³⁴ Cocks, ii, 94.

³⁵ I.e. at Kioto, Ōzaka, Yedo and other commercial centres.

³⁶ Cocks' Diary, vol. ii, p. 310.

they did not confine themselves to the pursuits of peaceful traders, but were equally ready to resort to arms when they considered themselves unfairly treated will appear from the episode in which Yamada Nagamasa plays such a prominent part.

In Vol. VII of the "Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan," Capt. J. M. James has given us a translation of the *Kai-gwai I-den*, a little tract composed in Chinese, which besides relating the capture of Governor Nuyts in Formosa by a band of determined Japanese, narrates the story of Yamada Nagamasa's exploits in Siam. Though somewhat tintured with romance, its main facts appear to be perfectly authentic, confirmed as they are by the independent testimony of European writers unconscious of a tale to be corroborated. There are several versions of the story, which are to be found in bk. 266 of the *Tsu-kō Ichi-ran*,³⁷ from which the following narrative, partly translated, partly summarized, has been taken. It will be found to be much more circumstantial than the *Kai-gwai I-den*.

Yamada Jizayemon Nagamasa (for that is his full name) settled in Siam early in the 17th century, though the precise date is unknown. In return for aid given to the King in war against a neighbouring state, he is said to have received a royal princess in marriage, and to have been created Governor of a province. Accounts do not agree as to the name of the hostile state from which Siam was thus delivered. According to one Japanese writer it was Goa, another gives Ligor (Rikkon in Japanese), a third tells us it was Ava [Burmah]. That Yamada was a man of some consequence in Siam is evident from his being in position to give letters of introduction to the envoys who were despatched to Japan on more than one occasion, and it is quite certain that he eventually rose to be rajah of Ligor, as stated by the author whom Mr. James has made us acquainted with. The Siamese title enjoyed by him at the time when Cocks wrote is variously given as *ompra*, *oppira*, *ampira*, or *ompu*, which are evidently different ways of spelling the same word. Mr. French thinks this is the Siamese *āmpho*, as Pallegoix writes it, the title

³⁷ This valuable compilation exists in the library of the Japanese Foreign Office at Tōkyō, and to the liberality of Mr. Yoshida Kiyonari, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, I am indebted for a copy of several volumes relating to the subject of this paper.

of an official who seems to combine the functions of a chief constable and a notary public. In Van Vliet's account of the revolutions which followed on the death of Phra-chão Song-tham he is called Oya Senaphimoe, or more correctly Okya Sena-phimuk, which is the title borne to this day by the chief of the Asa Jipun mentioned in the earlier part of this paper. In one account he is called the *oya Kalahom* [title of the Minister of war], but it seems clear that he never actually held that office. It has also been suggested that the Khun Chaija-Sun spoken of in the King's letter of 1628, as having been appointed headman of the Japanese settlers, was no other than Yamada, and the conjecture is not devoid of probability. The name of Chão phaya Vichajen was given to the celebrated Constantine Phaulkon, and to the present day it is the custom to confer honorific epithets upon foreigners in the Siamese service. It appears that there was also an 'umper' or 'umpra' of the English in Siam. In Cocks' diary there is the following entry under the date of Dec. 30th, 1617: "I wrote two letters to the English and Japan *umpra*, " and sent them 2 presents, viz: —³⁸

	ta.	m.	co.
2 fowling peeces, cost,	8	8	9
1 pece spotted satten, cost,	8	0	0
1 pec. damask, blak and green.....	6	0	0

and on July 3rd, 1618, he records, "Matias, the Hollander capt. of junk " which came from Syam, came to vizet me this day. He tells me " that Mr. Pittes the Englishman envited one James Peterson, thenGLISH " *umper*, to a banket at Syam, and after, upon what occation he knew " not, fell out with hym, and went with iij Japons to bynd him and " take him prisoner. But Peterson laid soe about hym that he kild ij " of the Japons, and made Pittes and the other to run away. This " Peterson is in greate favor with the King of Syam, and therefor I " marvell Mr. Pittes would take this cours; but Mr. Mathias saieth " it was doonè in drink." It is pretty certain that the title of *umpra* did not imply any very elevated rank in the case either of the Japanese or the Englishman. He was merely an official head of the settlers belonging to his nation, a sort of consul with limited powers. In a letter

³⁸ The tael was 5 shillings, the mace 6d.

addressed by him to John Johnson and Richard Pitts at the Siam factory, on the 23rd December, 1617, Cocks says he understands "the Japan Ompra" is a man that may help them much in lading their junk, and especially in keeping under their mutinous Japan mariners. Also that Peterson the English *umpire*³⁹ as they call him, is a man who may do the company good service; has written to and sent him a small present, and done the like to "the Japan Umpra." In another place Cocks says, "Also I received a letter from Ompera's father, with a "little barso wine called bringe and 200 oranges [December 19th, 1617];" and again: "The Umpras father came to me and brought a barso of "wine and a cuttell fish." In all probability he is speaking of Yamada's father, who was apparently residing at Hirado, though Yamada is said variously to have been a native of Yamada in Ise and Sumpu in Suruga. Later on, as we shall see, he became a much more important personage.

Yamada's letters are dated 1621 and 1629. The account in the *Yamada Jizayemon Ki-ji*, which is repeated in the *Kai-gwai I-den*, of his presenting himself to some Japanese merchants in the character of King of Siam is undoubtedly fabulous. But the explanation of this may be that these merchants met him at Ligor, of which he was governor or rojat just before his death. It will also be shown later on, that he was succeeded by his son Oin (not Ayin, as Mr. James spells it). Whether he was also governor of Patani I have not been able to ascertain, and Hippiru (not Kihira), which is said to have formed part of his governorship, has not yet been identified. It may be a corruption of the name of some small settlement on the coast of Ligor. I will first give the tale as it is told in the *Tsū-kū Ichi-ran*.

"Amongst the vassals of ancient lineage who served the King of Siam there was a certain Kauhamu,⁴⁰ who though of higher rank than Yamada, only occupied a nominal position in the state. Consequently half the mandarins were envious of Yamada, while the other half flattered and fawned upon him.

³⁹ From the Col. of state Papers, Col. series, 1617-1621, p. 92. It would be interesting to know whether *umpire* or *umper* is the spelling in the original MS. letter.

⁴⁰ This is probably the title Kalahom, the Japanese ㇿ which represents the Siamese la, having through a copyist's error been transformed into ㇿ.

Three years passed away, when the King was struck down by disease, and the prescription of the physicians had no effect. Conscious that he could not recover, he summoned to his bedside the Kauhamu, Yamada and the rest of his chief mandarins, and informing them that it was his intention to abdicate in favour of the heir-apparent, begged them to support his son and to carry on the Government of the country in accordance with the system established by himself. The Kauhamu and Yamada were to take in it turns to administer the realm for a year at a time, retiring during the alternate years to their own territories. They faithfully promised to observe his injunctions, and the King breathed his last on the 16th day of the 5th month of the year corresponding to A. D. 1628.

The new King ascended the throne in 1632, and the ceremony of his coronation having taken place in the 8th month, Yamada retired to his territory of Hippiru in accordance with the arrangement made by the late Sovereign, while the Kauhamu carried on the Government as first minister, upon the old lines. He was only 25 years old and unmarried. The queen dowager fell in love with his good looks, and carried on an intrigue with him. She even proposed to marry him, and to set him on the throne instead of her son. The King was only 13 years of age, but was distinguished for his intelligence. When the plot came to his knowledge, he resolved to send for the Kauhamu and, putting him to death, to disappoint the queen dowager's plans. But his design was divulged before he could put it into execution. The queen invited him to her apartments, and under pretence of an entertainment, administered a poison to him which caused his death. She then gave out that he had succumbed to a sudden attack of disease, and caused his obsequies to be celebrated with the usual pomp. As there was no legitimate heir to the throne, she assumed the reins of government, and was proclaimed Queen Regnant. This happened towards the close of the year. Yamada, who was away at the seat of his government, on receiving these tidings, at once resolved to set forth for the capital in order to ascertain the facts. His anger was kindled however by learning from a personal attendant of the late King, how he had been done to death by poison as he was about to call the queen dowager to account for her conduct; and he determined to avenge the dead prince upon his

murderess and her paramour. He therefore began to collect troops, with the object of drawing the king's younger brother from his retreat in a monastery, in order to place him on the throne. The queen in her alarm took counsel with the Kauhamu, and they sent off a man named Chantohou to represent to Yamada that the king had really died a natural death, to her intense grief, and that woman though she was, she had been unavoidably compelled to seat herself on the throne in order to save the kingdom from anarchy. She invited him to proceed immediately to the capital in order to consult about the choice of a King, promising, as soon as that was done, to abdicate and take the vows. She was shocked to hear that he believed the false reports of her having poisoned the late King, and that he was collecting troops with the design of marching against her. This was due to the machinations of evil disposed persons, and she forwarded to him a sworn document declaring that there was no truth in the story, offering at the same time to make his son Oin governor of Ligor and Patani, and sending him letters of instalment for those two provinces. Yamada was convinced by these proofs of her good will. He accepted the patents of investiture for his son, and invited the envoy to a banquet. The latter felt sure of his object, and thanking Yamada for his hospitality, withdrew to his lodging, whence, after receiving Yamada's return visit, he departed for the capital. Yamada sent for his son, informed him of his appointment and despatched him to take possession of his two governments. Oin started at once for Patani, which was then ruled by a *rahee*. He was therefore not admitted into the town, but received the submission of the chief man, and proceeded on his way to Ligor, where he was met by the chief, who invited him into the town, and took an oath of fidelity to him. Here he took up his residence, and directed thence the administration of the provinces. He selected a site for the construction of a fortress, which he intended to make the headquarters of his government.

Chantohou, on arriving at the capital, informed the queen that Yamada had outwardly promised her his support, but added that he had detected signs of a contrary intention. He suspected Yamada of devotion to the legitimate sovereign, and that he had only pretended to accept the kingdom of Patani, in order to make use of it as a base for military operations. In order to frustrate these plans, he had secretly dropped

poison into Yamada's food when the latter was feasted at his lodgings, and predicted his death within three months. The queen was so pleased that she promised to bestow Patani and Ligor on him in the event of Yamada's death.

Yamada soon began to feel the poison gnawing at his vitals, and convinced that nothing could save him, secretly summoned his chief advisers, to whom he said that he had intended, as soon as the authority of Oin was established in the two provinces, to collect a large army in order to attack Ayuthia and put the queen and the Kauhamu to death. But the envoy Chantohou had contrived to poison him, and he felt that he should never rise again from his bed. As soon as the breath was out of his body, they must carry the tidings to Oin, and bid him carry out his father's plans. He grew rapidly worse, and expired early the following year (1638).

When Oin was made acquainted with these events, his bosom swelled with grief and indignation, and he took a solemn oath before heaven and earth to avenge his father's death. He sent out a summons to the warriors of Ligor, which was responded to with alacrity, but the the rajah of Patani excused himself on the ground that it was a small state, unprovided with the means of meeting this sudden call. He offered however to support him with an army next year, if he were excused from serving in the present campaign. Oin saw the danger which he would incur if he marched from Ligor leaving his rear exposed to an attack from Patani, and hesitated what course to pursue.

In the meanwhile the news was brought to Ayuthia. The queen was struck with consternation, and despatched a large army against Ligor under the command of Chantohou. The general marched with all speed, and sent a messenger to Oin informing him that he was known to be meditating an attack on Ayuthia in consequence of the belief that Yamada had been poisoned in Hippiru, and summoning him to prove his loyalty by evacuating the fortress without loss of time, and surrendering the two provinces. Oin, after some consideration, pretended to consent, and turning to the messenger said that he was ready to obey the royal command. His father Jizayemon being dead, it was his duty to give up the provinces which had been conferred on himself. He

was ready to hand over possession of the fortress, if he were allowed two or three days to put it in proper order. This seemed reasonable enough, and Chantohou consented to the required delay.

Oin having thus succeeded in lulling the suspicions of the enemy, furbished up his arms, and on the third day despatched a messenger to say that he was ready to surrender the fortress, but that it must be done with proper forms. Chantohou, put off his guard by this specious proposal, proceeded towards the fortress accompanied only by a guard of 300 men, when he suddenly found himself in the midst of an ambuscade, and his men being thrown into disorder by the sudden onset of the foe, scattered in all directions, leaving him on the field. Flushed with this easy victory over the murderer of his father, whom Heaven appeared to have led into the snare as a punishment for his treachery, Oin resolved to march at once on the capital, in order to avenge both the murdered king and his own father, and to restore peace to the country by placing the rightful heir on the throne. He sent out a summons to the 13 chiefs of Ligor, and prepared to take the field with as little delay as possible.

The survivors of Chantohou's defeat fled with the news to Ayuthia, where the rumour quickly spread, and it was believed that Oin was on the march at the head of 300,000 troops drawn from Hippiru, Ligor, Patani, Pegu, Laos and other parts of Indo-China. The very places at which this vast force would halt from day to day were named. The Queen was struck with consternation, and resorted for help to the Kanhamu, but like the coward that he was, the latter entirely lost his head, and could suggest nothing, except that, if as seemed certain, the inhabitants of the Japanese 'campong' were to join Oin, the city would be hopelessly lost. He advised therefore that the junks of the Japanese should be seized, so as to deprive them of the means of escape, and they could then easily be exterminated by the Siamese troops. A message was accordingly despatched to the Japanese settlers, ordering them to send their two junk-masters into the city. These were Kugi-ya Shōzayemon and Tamaya Chūbei, both men of wealth and intelligence. On receiving the message they proceeded to the house of Iwakura Heiyemon, headman (Sō-shimo) of the Japanese community, to take council. Heiyemon, after listening to them, observed that the Siamese no doubt feared lest the Japanese of Ayuthia should take the side of Oin, who was

reported to have killed an envoy sent by the court to remonstrate with him for levying troops in Ligor and Pataui in order to attack the capital, and the object of the present summons was to secure their obedience, or in case of disobedience, to put them to death. It was equally dangerous for them to respond to it, or to refuse compliance. He advised them therefore to consider carefully which course they would adopt.

The leading residents were accordingly called together. Their names were Kana-ya Genzaburō, Ōzaka-ya Sukesaku, Wata-ya Ichirōbei, Kishibe-ya Karoyemon, Kishibe-ya Jinzaburō, Tani Kiūbei, Imamura Sakiō, Yamada Nidaiyu, Yamada Nihei, the military teacher Aruga Mondaiyu, the actor Hayami Matasaburō, and Chihara Gorobachi (the last of whom subsequently returned to Nagasaki, and wrote this account). The result of their deliberations was to the effect that the summons of the junk-masters was to secure hostages. It was known that the Japanese being a right loving people, would not, by making an attack on the city, expose them to the risk of being killed by the garrison. The idea no doubt was, they concluded, gradually to entice the rest of the Japanese by means of the junk-masters, and when Oin appeared, to put him off his guard by offering to make peace. The fact of his countrymen being in the city would render him less disposed to attack it in a hurry. That would give time to collect troops and fall upon his rear. Such being the probable object of the Siamese it seemed advisable not to fall into the trap, but on the other hand if they refused to go, the probability was that the settlement would be at once attacked by the garrison. The best plan therefore would be to make preparations for withdrawing to their junks, taking care to guard their rear.

Whilst they were thus debating, repeated messengers came from the city, urging the junk-masters to repair thither without further delay. Shōzayemon and Chūbei then observed that to refuse compliance with this repeated summons looked cowardly, and that it was all one whether they went, or stayed where they were to die with arms in their hands, as it was a difficult position to retreat from. They proposed therefore to proceed into the city with a small body of armed men, and as soon as the discharge of firearms was heard, every one who felt like a man would hurry to the city, and die there fighting, to the exaltation of the military renown of Japan. This proposal was received with enthusiasm,

and the others swore they would all die together if necessary. Accordingly the two leaders proceeded to the castle with 25 musketeers, ten bowman and the spearmen, while Heiyemon marshalled men in the settlement, in expectation of the event.

When the Kauhannu heard that the Japanese had appeared in obedience to the summons, but all armed to the teeth, he became frightened, and sent out an officer to demand an explanation of these warlike proceedings. They replied that Oin was reported to have killed a royal envoy in Ligor, because he had incurred the Kauhannu's suspicions; they supposed that being Japanese, they were suspected of making preparations to assist him, and that the Kauhannu designed to put them to death. That it was the custom of the Japanese, when they found their last hour had come, to make a noble ending with arms in their hands.

The Kauhannu's fears redoubled. He sent out again to explain that an army was being sent to chastise Oin for his treasonable acts in levying troops in Ligor and murdering a royal envoy. But the other Japanese were free to depart to their own country. If they remained it was conceivable that they might go over to Oin. They must therefore surrender the ground lent to them for a settlement, and forthwith return to Japan. But as the Japanese junks were easy to manage, he feared they might take to piracy on the way if they were allowed to have possession of them. They must all give over their own vessels, and six or seven large Siamese junks should be provided to take them as far as Annam. One of the Japanese delegates replied that as far as the settlement was concerned, they would comply with the demand for its surrender, as they only held it on lease. But the ships were their own property, and they would decline to give them up. Besides, how could they get back to Japan in Siamese junks, which they had no experience in handling? They could only return home in Japanese ships. Having given this reply, they left the city, no one venturing to offer any opposition, and returned to the settlement to report the above conversation to their friends. There was a good deal of merriment at the idea of the unnecessary pitch of determination to which they had all worked themselves up. But nevertheless they saw that it would not be wise to stop much longer in Siam, and began packing up their property with a view to removal. The Queen now issued an order that, in view of

its having been determined that the Japanese settlers should quit the country, none of them should henceforth be admitted within the gates of the city, and if any of them secretly obtained entrance he should suffer condign punishment. In spite of this prohibition one man made his way inside the walls, and being set upon by the police, drew his sword and killed 4 men, besides wounding 9 others, before they could make an end of him. On the following day the Siamese made a demand for the surrender of an equivalent number of Japanese, according to the principle of blood for blood. This was refused in very defiant language. Upon this an India envoy who happened to be present in Ayuthia, intervened and arranged a compromise, the gist of which was that the Japanese should ransom their fleet, numbering over three hundred vessels, by paying to the Kanhamu a large sum of money, estimated at over 133 catties weight of silver. Their only thought now was to return to Japan as speedily as possible, but they could not leave behind them the families of those who were with Oin. It was resolved therefore first to place these in a position of safety, and preparations having been made to remove all the settlers and their property, they embarked on the 19th day of the 2nd moon of 1633. The Siamese perceiving that they had with them the families of Oin's followers, suspected them of an intention to proceed to Ligor to bring up Oin's army to make an attack on the city, and determined to prevent this, if possible. Gathering together a flotilla of boats, they attacked the Japanese fleet, which had already cast off preparatory to leaving the city, and a fierce battle took place in which the Siamese were defeated with great loss in both ships and men, while the Japanese escaped through the river gate with very slight losses. The Siamese in their desperation called in the aid of a Portuguese vessel that was lying at anchor outside the bar, but the Japanese were again victorious. On counting up their losses they found they had 43 killed, besides more wounded than they had time to count.

A fair wind carried them quickly to Ligor, where they joined Oin. The latter once more summoned the chiefs of Patani and Ligor to join him in his march to Ayuthia, but the year stipulated for by the former had not yet expired, while the latter now refused to support one whom they considered a rebel against their sovereign. Instead of obeying the summons, they took the part of the queen and the Kanhamu. Deserted

at last by all his Siamese followers, he saw no other alternative than to quit the country altogether. Most of the Japanese had already abandoned him during the night, when the prospect of having to die with arms in their hands first presented itself to them. The rest he bade save themselves as best they could, and accompanied by sixteen or seventeen devoted followers retired towards Cambodia. Some of the Japanese made their way to Cochin-China or Champa, whence they eventually reached Hirado again. Civil war had broken out in Cambodia between the King and his elder brother,⁴¹ who had been disappointed of the succession. Oin entered the service of the former, but was not able to restore with enfeebled forces the falling fortunes of the King, and finally lost his own life in an unsuccessful engagement, together with half a dozen other brave Japanese.

Shortly before the departure of the Japanese settlers, eight of their number had left Ayuthia on a pilgrimage to the temple of Ronton (?), and on their way back were made prisoners by the Siamese troops. Their lives were spared at the intercession of the high priest of the said temple, and they were detained in honourable confinement. The Java⁴² people (i. e. the Dutch) hearing that the Japanese had left Siam, thought it a good opportunity to make an attack on the country from the Bay of Bengal. In this extremity the Kauhamu bethought himself of these eight men, who belonged to a nation more feared by "the Southerners"⁴³ than a fierce tiger, and sending for them, promised them their liberty if they would deliver the country from its invaders. The Japanese proposed that as many Siamese as possible should be equipped with Japanese armour and helmets, and that eight elephants should be provided for themselves, undertaking, if this plan were adopted, to drive back the pirates. The Kauhamu was only too glad to accept this idea. Some

⁴¹ It was the uncle, according to Garnier, of Prea Srey Thomea, and not the brother, who hurled him from the throne.

⁴² Java seems to be a mistake for Goa. In 1633 two Portuguese frigates blockaded the mouth of the Tenasserim river, in order to prevent Siamese junks from entering, and captured several prizes.

⁴³ "Southerners" is likewise more usually applied by Japanese writers to Portuguese and Spaniards than to the Dutch. The relations of Siam with the Iberian Peninsula were by no means friendly at this epoch.

seventy suits being hastily collected, a corresponding number of Siamese were disguised as Japanese warriors, and 500 men more were placed under the command of the eight Japanese. On the backs of each of the elephants a couple of small cannon were placed in a howdah, under the charge of a Japanese, and so equipped the whole force marched towards the coast. As soon as they came in sight of the Java ships, they began a furious cannonade, which would speedily have sunk the whole fleet, had they not prudently retreated. To the Japanese was offered the option of remaining in Siam in the Queen's service or returning to their native country.

Not long after, the Kauhamu fell sick and died, and was quickly followed to the grave by the Queen. The nobles thereupon brought the younger brother of the late King out of the monastery where he had been confined and placed him on the throne, in accordance with the ancient constitution of the kingdom.

The Japanese narrative, while presenting several points to which it is impossible to give entire credence, appears on the whole to be founded on fact. An air of verisimilitude is imparted to it by the exact manner in which the names of the principal actors are given and the local colouring is faithful to nature. It contains a description of the city of Ayuthia which accords well with the accounts of European travellers, and the fact that a palace-revolution actually occurred in Siam about the period assigned to the death of Yamada and the exploits of his son, is confirmed both by the native annals and by foreign writers. Amongst these the best informed were Schouten, who was head of the Dutch factory at Ayuthia from 1628 to 1686, and Van Vliet, who was his immediate successor. Valentijn, who also gives an account of these events, was, as far as Siam is concerned, a mere compiler of the Dutch East India Company. The former says :—

“The mighty force and soldiers of the King, both by sea and land, consist chiefly of vassals and natives of the country, as well as of some foreigners, as Moors, Malays, and other not very numerous, amongst which the best are some 500 or 600 Japanese soldiers, who are wonderfully respected by the surrounding nationalities on account of their reputation for manly valour, and are honoured and respected by the Siamese Kings, but were killed and expelled from the country by the

present King" for fear of their ambitious notions. But after some time by connivance they have returned again, so that his forces consist of Siamese and a few other nationalities."

The best account of the events which followed upon the death of Phra-chão Song-tham to be found in any European work is that given by Van Vliet in the "*Relation Historique Du Royaume De Siam*," published in 1663, along with a French translation of Herbert's *Voyage to India and Persia*. Of the Flemish original of the former I have not yet met with a copy.

Van Vliet commences by stating it to be a fundamental law of Siam that the rightful successor to the throne is not the son, but the brother of a deceased sovereign. Phra-chão Song-tham, being on his death bed, in defiance of this rule, nominated as his heir one of his sons who was only fifteen years of age. He was aided in the execution of his plan by a minister named Oya Siworrawough, who secretly designed to get rid of this young prince and place himself on the throne, and consequently readily undertook to carry out the King's wishes. To ensure success, he gained over to his views the "Oya Senaphimoc," commander of the Japanese, of whom there were 600 in the royal service. The day after Phra-chão Song-tham's decease, the young King ascended the throne with the title of "Pra Ough Thit-terrastia" and "Oya Siworrawough" was promoted to be Kalahom. Being thus invested with the reality of power, he began to usurp the externals of sovereignty. A strict etiquette prescribed the cremation ceremonials for each rank. The Kalahom exhumed the body of his father, and cremated it with much greater pomp and ceremony than befitted a subject, of even the highest rank. All the principal functionaries were present, and the Palace was almost deserted. This gave great offence to the young King, who, without calculating his resources, declared the Kalahom a traitor. The latter threw off the mask, and marching on the palace with his slaves and the Japanese body-guard, forced the king to take to flight. He was pursued, brought back and put to death. The Kalahom had hoped to secure the throne for himself, but finding a powerful rival in the person of one of his principal confederates, was obliged to lay aside his designs for the moment. Now comes the most

⁴⁴ Know in Siamese history as Phra-chão Pra-thong, who reigned from 1630 to 1655.

remarkable portion of the story as told by Van Vliet. "The Calahom and the Berekelough, profiting by the darkness of the night, got into a boat by themselves, and without any escort or slaves to accompany them, proceeded to the house of the Oya Senaphimoc, with the intention of sounding him about the election of a successor to the throne. The Calahom set forth to him the impossibility of the kingdom being left without a King; that the great King, father of the King recently deceased, had left none but children under age; that it was dangerous to invest such young princes with the royal dignity; that it would be regrettable to see so powerful a Kingdom governed by a child; begged him to consider whether it would not be advisable, in order to avoid these objections (inconveniencies), to proceed to the election of one of the principal mandarins who should reign and be crowned provisionally, until such time as the Prince should become fit to rule in person, when the mandarin in question would renounce that dignity and resign it to the legitimate heir. Oya Senaphimoc, seeing through the Calahom's designs, replied that if it became necessary to proceed to the election of one of the mandarins, the choice would assuredly fall upon him, because being of the royal blood, and the most powerful of the mandarins, it would not be possible to nominate any other without wronging him; and if they were to elect him, 'every one,' said he, 'would have reason to condemn our proceedings, and to believe that we only took up arms to further our own unjust objects, and to place in your hands a violent and illegitimate dominion. And besides, if our choice fell on any other mandarin, it is to be feared that he will wish to remain master, even after the Prince comes to years of discretion; and that in order to secure the crown to himself and his family, he will extirpate the Royal House.' It should be remembered that two Kings⁴⁵ had already been put to death, that a great deal of blood had been shed, and that it was now time to put an end to these disturbances and restore peace to the Kingdom. He was of opinion that they should crown the eldest surviving brother of the dead King, making him (the Calahom) the governor of his person and Regent of the Kingdom. Having been first minister under the preceding reign, he would be able to give good

⁴⁵ I.e. the young King and his uncle, who was the legitimate successor of Phra-chão Song-tham.

counsel to the King, and to set the affairs of the Kingdom in order. And he protested, that for his part he would not allow the crown to be placed on the head of another, as long as there were any Princes of the Royal Family who were entitled by birth to that position, and that he would oppose such a proceeding with all his power. The Calahom, seeing that he would get nothing else from him, concurred in the opinion of the Japanese, and the reasons put forward by him with regard to the young prince, but refused the posts of governor and regent. But being dependent more or less on Senaphimoc, and considering that if he refused, the latter would find some one else who would not raise the same difficulties, he proceeded to the Palace, and on the following day, having assembled all the mandarins, he represented to them that as the Kingdom of Siam could not exist without a King, and as moreover there were still princes, who were sons of the Great King, and at the same time brothers of the last, and amongst them the eldest, most hopeful, a prince aged about ten years, he thought they could not make a better choice, and was of opinion that he ought to be crowned. The whole assembly acquiesced, and chiefly Oya Senaphimoc, whereupon the young Prince was crowned, and took the title of Praough Athit Socras Waugh. This election was approved, not only by the principal nobles, but also by the people, who hoped that affairs would thus be put right again. The Calahom was, by unanimous consent of the meeting, nominated Governor of the King and Regent of the Kingdom."

This passage is sufficient to prove that the commander of the Japanese troops in Siam, himself a Japanese, was a person of considerable political influence, and it does not surprise us that his own countrymen should have believed him to have had an equal share with the Calahom in the settlement of the succession to the crown. Under these circumstances the mistake of supposing that he held the office itself of Calahom is natural enough. Van Vliet then goes on to tell us that the Regent found it necessary to the final attainment of his ambition to get rid of Oya Capheim, who was his rival for the throne, and of Oya Senaphimoc, who had declared that so long as any of Phra-chão Song-tham's sons survived, he would not be a party to the elevation of any mandarin. With regard to the first of these he was speedily successful. He denounced him to the young King as the principal cause of his brother's

murder, and procured his imprisonment. Then visiting him in his confinement, he hypocritically pretended great sympathy, offered him the means of escape, and as soon as he had availed himself of the opportunity, treacherously put him to death. A breach with Senaphimoc, who was a friend of the murdered man, seemed likely to ensue, but the Kalahom was too much afraid of the Japanese soldiery to attempt openly the life of their beloved leader. He had recourse therefore to intrigue, and having contrived to get an order sent to the Governor of Ligor to present himself at Court, an order which he foresaw the latter could not safely obey, as his province was threatened with hostilities on the part of the Dutch, he then persuaded the King to give Oya Senaphimoc a commission to proceed to Ligor, and to replace the governor thus forced to take an attitude which the regent falsely represented to be one of rebellion. Our author proceeds to say : "The Calahom gave himself no rest until Oya Senaphimoc, now Governor of Ligor, had taken the oath of fidelity in his new government, and had received the despatches necessary for his journey. In order to ensure him complete authority at the seat of his government, it was arranged that he should take with him all the Japanese who were in the Kingdom. Having thus got rid of the only two men whose opposition was to be feared, he found it easier to carry on his intrigues, and before long succeeded in inducing the mandarins to confine the young King in a monastery, under the pretence of giving him leisure and opportunity for study ; he then ascended the throne as King *ad interim*. But before long he contrived to have the crown offered to himself *en permanence*, and removing the King from the monastery, put him to death. Thus in 1629 he found himself undisputed monarch of Siam."

The first act of Phra-chão Prasathong, as he is known in history, was to espouse the eldest daughter of Phra-chão Song-tham's sister, and he also proposed to take the mother of the last King as one of his concubines, but she refused to submit to his wishes. The Japanese account accuses her of having an intrigue with him. Which of the statements is in accordance with the facts is perhaps difficult to decide, but if the latter is erroneous, we can at any rate see how it arose from an imperfect report.

Oya Senaphimoc, continues Van Vliet, on arriving at Ligor, put

the chief men to death, and divided the country among his Japanese followers. He however reserved the former governor to be his chief councillor, and sent a messenger to Ayuthia to report his success. The news of the recent events, including the death of Athityawong, had not yet reached him. Phra-chão Prasa-thong affected to be greatly pleased with the energetic manner in which he had reduced the province to obedience, and sent him at the same time a number of handsome girls, amongst whom was included one destined particularly as a wife for himself. In this we see a confirmation of the Japanese story that Yamada received in marriage a daughter of the King. At the same time he wrote privately to the ex-governor, promising him that he should be restored to his former position if he could contrive to get rid of the Japanese governor. We will now let Van Vliet speak again in his own person.

"Oya Senaphimocq, whom we ought rather to style Oya Ligoor, "was greatly pleased at the sight of so many presents; but he was "profoundly touched by the death of the young King, and exhibited "much dissatisfaction at the election to the throne, and at the coronation of the Calahom, without his opinion having been asked, and "went so far as to say that some one would be found to avenge both "the murder and the illegal election. But after his first expressions "of indignation, he calmed down, dissembled his displeasure, and "caused the succession of the reigning King to be celebrated with "fêtes. But he conceived a profound mistrust of his predecessor, whom "he forbade the house and refused to see, while at the same time he "continued to caress and make much of his brother Opra Marit, receiving "the visits of the latter from time to time. About this time it happened that Oya Ligoor, whilst leading an expedition against the "people of Patani, was wounded in the leg in a skirmish, and finding "his wound very painful, made use of certain drugs which Opra Marit "applied to it, which not only relieved his pain, but also almost cured "the wound, to such an extent that it did not prevent the celebration "of his marriage with the girl whom the King had sent him. But just "as Oya Ligoor expected to enjoy her, he found himself at the point of "death, for in the midst of the pleasures of marriage, Opra Marit "applied to his leg a poisoned plaster, of which he died in the course "of a few hours."

In this account of the death of the Governor of Ligor, we find at least some correspondence with the tale of his being poisoned by Chantahsu, as related by the Japanese author already quoted.

"The son of the deceased Oya Ligoor, named Ockon Senaphimocq, who was scarcely eighteen years of age, a well-born and most hopeful gentleman, following the natural impulses of youth, had himself proclaimed governor of the province, and believing as he did that the ex-governor had poisoned his father, arrested him, in the determination to put him to death and thus avenge the manes of his parent. But the old fox succeeded so well in cajoling the young governor, that he not only abandoned all suspicion, but also married the eldest daughter of his father's murderer; they mutually swore eternal fidelity and undertook to assist each other against all comers." The ex-governor then put it into the head of his son-in-law that the province had been granted to his father in absolute sovereignty, and induced him to appoint a number of officials. At the same time he persuaded another of the Japanese named Ockon Cirwy that he was better fitted to be governor, and thus contrived to bring about discussions among the Japanese themselves. He then stirred up the natives of Ligoor against the whole body of the intruders, and succeeded so well that none of them were present at the installation of Ockon Senaphimocq, which took place shortly afterwards. The rival Japanese leader, divining that he had been made a tool of, joined himself again to the party of his natural chief, and attacking the treacherous ex-governor, they put him to death. A sanguinary combat ensued, in which the Ligorians were put to flight, and the town was pillaged by the Japanese. Dissensions now broke out afresh among the latter, in which their number was greatly diminished, until Ockon Cirwy was slain. The survivors, seeing that they would gain little by remaining at Ligor, abandoned the town, and retired across the sea to Cambodia.

Here we again find the narration of our Japanese author fully confirmed by the Dutch writer, in almost every particular, the names only being excepted. But that is easily accounted for, as the Japanese would naturally speak of his countrymen by their real names, while Van Vliet's informant would on the contrary speak of the actors in this drama by their Siamese official titles.

Van Vliet goes on to say that some of the Japanese had the boldness to return from Cambodia to Ligor, and even to Ayuthia, where they lived with impunity, and were left pretty much to themselves. They even loaded a junk with all sorts of treasures, with the intention of sending the body of their deceased leader to Japan, but it was seized by the King's orders, either with the object of irritating them, or of provoking them to leave Siam for good. But in the end, fearing to drive them to desperation, he restored to them their vessel, and permitted them to carry on trade with their own country. The Japanese, instead of being grateful for this piece of good nature, became more insolent than ever, and were not afraid to declare that they would seize the King on his throne. The King, however, having received information of these threats, and afraid that they might become desperate, resolved to be beforehand with them. The Japanese settlement was set on fire on the night of the 26th October, 1682, when the streets of the town were half-drowned by the floods which prevail at that season, and at the same time a cannonade was directed against the houses, so that the occupants were forced to take refuge on board their junks.

As they were not sufficiently numerous to man both vessels, they all embarked in one and descended the river with the ebb tide, fighting as they went. The King caused the combat to be continued all the way down to the sea, at the expense of many Siamese lives. Those Japanese who lived in other parts of the town were diligently sought for and put to death with great cruelty.

This account of the fate of these Japanese settlers, the attack on their settlement, their flight from Ayuthia, likewise corroborates in a great measure the narrative given in the *Tsū-Kō Ichi-ran*. The latter is more detailed, and leads us to suppose that the people whose unprovoked massacre was contrived were peaceable merchants. Here again we are unable to decide which version is best entitled to credence.

Van Vliet further relates that some Japanese who had been detained as prisoners were shortly afterwards made use of in a war waged by the Siamese King against the state of Ischeen Mey, in which we recognise without difficulty the Laos province of Chiengmai. It was expected that the latter would be supported by the King of Ava (Burmah), but it appears that its ruler had counted without his host. It will be

remembered that the Japanese author tells us a certain number of his countrymen who had escaped the general massacre bore a part in the defeat of an attack made on Siam by a force from Java. The discrepancy between the two accounts is great, but may be accounted for by supposing that the writer had already returned to Japan, and derived his information from hearsay. Under such circumstances a confusion between Java, Ava and, as I have suggested in a note on a previous page, Goa, would be excusable. On the whole the truth of the main incidents in the Japanese story of Yamada's life and death may be said to be entirely established.

Sprinckel, who was Dutch Agent at Patani⁴⁶ as late as the death of Phra Chāo Song-tham, is cited on the "Tweede ship vaerd van L. van. Neck" as the authority for the following version of the same occurrences.

"The aforesaid Ragihapi (perhaps Raja Hapi) had one under him who was the chief man at the court, named Ochi Chronowi⁴⁷ (Ochi is the title of a count or lord), which Chronowi was very favourable to the Dutch nation and furthered their interests with the King.

"During the life time of Ragihapi this Ochi Chronowi had secretly brought into the country four or five hundred Japanese disguised as traders, in order to kill the King and to seize the kingdom for himself. The plot could not be carried into execution as long as the King lived, but as soon as he was dead, the aforesaid Chronowi, notwithstanding the fact that there were sons of King Ragihapi, intended to have himself crowned King, and proclaimed ruler of the country. But most of the townspeople helped the King's eldest son, so that he was crowned King, and the Dutch guards also took part in aiding the King's son against the Ochi Chronowi, notwithstanding the fact that they had been much favoured by him. The King's son afterwards lost his life, and his youngest brother obtained the Kingdom or crown. But when Sprinckel left Patani the troubles in Siam were not yet at an end."

The same story is told in Wicquefort's translation of Olearius' edition of Mandelslo, published at Amsterdam in 1727. In the earlier

⁴⁶Begin ende Voortganch Vande Vereenigde Needer-landsche Geootroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie, 't Eeerste Deel, 1645, vol. i.

⁴⁷In Ochi Chronowi it is not difficult to recognise the title of Okya Krom Nai-wai, generally borne by the officer who ultimately becomes Kalahome.

edition of 1668 there is no mention of these events, and the editor probably copied from Sprinckel, though he does not acknowledge the source from which he derived this addition to Mandelslo's original narrative. It is also repeated in his *Histoire Civile et Naturelle du Royaume de Siam*, Paris, 1771, by Turpin, who scarcely ever deigns to mention the sources from which he has obtained his information, and often sadly confuses the events he is relating.

Let us turn now to the Siamese history entitled *Phongsa Vadan*, and inquire what confirmation it affords of the facts related by the Japanese author, and by Valentijn, Schouten and Sprinckel.⁴⁸

We find in it no allusion to the share taken by the Japanese settlers in the revolutions of the period, but on the other hand the coincidences between its account of the principal events are so striking as to warrant the belief that the narrator of Yamada's exploits was no mere romancer. According to the native annalist of Siam, King Phra Chao Song-tham died in 1628, leaving three sons, named Phra Chettathirat, Phra Phansi Silapa, and Phra Athityawong. The first of these was raised to the throne by the great council of the Kingdom, in accordance with ancient custom. Their decision gave offence to the second son, who was himself ambitious of being their choice. He withdrew to Petchaburi and collected troops with the intention of marching on the capital. The King at once ordered his army to take the field, and the unlucky pretender being seized before he had time to complete his preparations, was made prisoner. He naturally met with no mercy. A few weeks later the Kalahome having assembled his friends for the cremation-ceremonies in honour of his recently deceased mother, it was insinuated to the King that this was merely a pretext to cover a treacherous conspiracy. Without further inquiry he sent to arrest the supposed traitor, but before the officer charged with this duty was able to execute the order, the Kalahome received timely warning. He appealed to the persons round him whether he had not conducted himself with perfect loyalty towards the King. Instead of seizing the throne for himself, as he might easily have done, he

⁴⁸ I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Archer of H. M.'s Legation for a translation of part of this work. Is it too much to hope for its completion by him, at least of the portion left unpublished by Mr. S. J. Smith?

had secured the succession to the son of the late Sovereign. He complained bitterly of the readiness with which unjust suspicions had been entertained, and hinted his disinclination to submit to have a slur cast upon his honour. He reminded them that if he were condemned as a traitor they would equally be looked upon as participators in his offence. His hearers responded by inviting him to take measures to protect himself, and offered to share his destinies. Thus reassured, he embarked on the river, and ascended to Ajuthia, accompanied by his friends, at the head of three thousand armed men. Forcing his way into the Palace, he endeavoured to secure the King, but the latter had already fled. Two of the nobles were sent in pursuit of the fugitive, and speedily effected his capture. He was brought back, and put to death in the usual manner, after a short reign of one year and seven months.

It was a natural step on the part of the nobles to offer the crown to the victor, but he declined. There was still a son of Phra-chão Song-tham, and it was more fitting that he should succeed to the throne. The council therefore elected Phra Athityawong, a boy of nine years of age. It was speedily proved that the Kingdom could not be governed by a mere child, and the great nobles insisted on his being deposed to make way for the Kalahome, who having now sufficiently sacrificed to the appearance of loyalty, accepted their nomination. He was consequently crowned King of Ajuthia in 1631.

Here we have very nearly the same series of facts as in the accounts already given from other sources. The Siamese annals, composed at the royal command, naturally present the actions of the Kalahome in the most favourable light. They give him credit for having acted from the best of motives, and an impartial historian will certainly be disposed to admit that he showed no indecent haste to seize on the supreme power, since he had permitted two of Phra-chao Song-tham's sons to ascend the throne in succession, before the force of circumstances finally awarded to him the prize of sovereignty. Yet he seems to have been considered as an usurper by foreign spectators of these events, and as we have seen, Van Vliet ascribes the cessation of friendly relations with Japan to the detestation of the Shōgun for one who had apparently played the part of a traitor. This is not improbable, as it was a politico-religious doctrine with the Japanese that no subject,

however powerful, could ever be justified in displacing the rightful Sovereign, however bad his rule. The utmost permissible was for the nominal occupant of the throne to be compelled to delegate the functions he was unfit to exercise to other hands more capable of discharging the duties of government. It may also be supposed that the destruction of the Japanese settlement, and the expulsion of that nation from Siam, which is an undoubted fact, though denied in one of the letters addressed to the Shōgun at the instance of Chāo-Fa Chhai in 1656, had a great share in determining the Shōguns to put an end to the official intercourse that had at one time been so intimate and friendly.

A third reason, as we have already suggested, was the resolution taken in 1636 by the rulers of Japan to confine their foreign relations to the Chinese and Dutch nations.

It would appear from a comparison of these various sources of information that the Japanese soldiers who were at first favourably disposed towards the legitimate line of Kings, sided afterwards with Kalahome, and were of great use to him in establishing his power. These men he first rewarded with grants of land and other privileges, but afterwards feared, on account of the influence he had thus allowed them to acquire. He determined therefore to get rid of them by any means, fair or foul, and then, fearful of the consequences, was weak enough to allow some of the very men whom he had expelled from the country, to return and settle there. At least, so we are told by Van Vliet and other Dutch writers, who having had excellent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the contemporary history of Siam, are our most trustworthy guides on these points. In the archives of the Dutch East India Company there must have been deposited a vast amount of interesting and valuable notices of passing events, and no greater service to the study of modern Oriental history could probably be rendered by their publication in some such form as the English Collection of State papers now being calendared under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls.

The Phongsa Vadan also states that the Japanese settlers helped to place Phra Narai on the throne in 1657. I have not met with any mention of the part they took in that affair, in European or Japanese writers.

The next mention of Japanese in Siam occurs in the account of the mission of Father Rhodes to the East. In the "State of the Christian religion in Siam in 1666,"⁴⁹ we are told that there were some Japanese who had taken refuge there, in consequence of the persecution that was raging in their own country. They informed the Bishop of Beyrout that in the preceding year 870 persons had been put to death for their religion, but that the fervour of the native Christians was ever on the increase, although the sacraments could no longer be administered, owing to the people being deprived of priests. He begged these Japanese to write to their compatriots, assuring them of his profound sympathy with their sufferings, and transmitting his offer to admit to holy orders any who might be fit for the priesthood, if they would come over to Siam.

Thanks to the narratives of the persons who at the time of the French expeditions in the reign of Louis XIV visited the country in a diplomatic or military capacity or compiled accounts of Siam from the materials of others, we are enabled to learn a good deal about the Japanese then resident in Ajuthia, as well as about the trade. There existed a class of creoles, the offspring of Portuguese and their Japanese Christian wives. The uncle of Constantine Phaulkon's wife is spoken of as 'ce bon Japonais;' and she herself was said to be sprung from the descendants of the exiled Japanese Christians.⁵⁰ In the missionary college at Ayuthia there were some young Japanese being educated for the priesthood. Tachard says that Phaulkon at one time had lived in the Japanese quarter.⁵¹ He mentions Japanese soldiers in the King's body-guard, and describes a chapel built by Phaulkon, the interior of which was decorated by a Japanese artist with paintings illustrating the principal events of the Old and New Testaments.⁵²

The celebrated traveller Kaempfer visited Ajuthia in 1690 on his way to Japan. It was usual for the Dutch trading vessels bound for the latter country to call in at Siam to take in part of their cargo.

⁴⁹ *Relatione delle Missioni de Vescovi Vicarii*, Rome, 1677, p. 3.

⁵⁰ *Voyage du Comte de Forbon à Siam*, Paris, 1853, p. 58, p. 109.

⁵¹ *Wakquotes*, p. 207.

⁵² *Second Voyage du Pere Tachard*, Amsterdam, 1689, p. 210.

According to his account,⁵³ the Japanese villages at Ayuthia were lower down than the Dutch settlement, but on the same side of the river. On board the same vessel was a Japanese named Hanyemon, a native of Hirado, who had settled in Siam.⁵⁴ In 1682 he embarked in a junk bound for Manila, but was wrecked on a small island off the coast of Luçon, whence he escaped, in company with some others of the shipwrecked crew, to Hainan. Forwarded to Macao by the Chinese Governor, who appears to have been a humane man, he obtained a passage to Batavia in a Portuguese vessel, and was now on his way back to his adopted country.

Lastly Valentijn, with his usual exactness, gives a map of the country on both banks of the Menam, and describes the Japan quarter as lying between that of the Peguans and the Chinese spirit-distillery beyond the latter was the Portuguese quarter. Amongst the exports to Japan he mentions the skins of deer and rays. The latter were no doubt used for the manufacture of shagreen for sword-hilts. It may be added that the site of the Japanese settlement at Ayuthia is still pointed out by tradition, though all traces of habitations have disappeared, its occupants having probably perished or been dispersed along with the rest of the population on the occasion of the sack of the city, by the Burmese in 1767. No living descendant of the Japanese nation is now to be found in Siam.

In concluding these pages, I must thankfully acknowledge the assistance I have received from His Royal Highness Prince Devawongse in the identification of Siamese names, and from Mr. E. H. French and Mr. W. J. Archer, both of H. B. M.'s Legation, who have kindly furnished the references to the Siamese History.

⁵³History of Japan, 1st Engl. edit., vol. i, p. 32.

⁵⁴Same work, p. 11.

THE KIRIN.

 BY F. WARRINGTON EASTLAKE.

[Read May 20th, 1885.]

There is probably no other animal in the long range of questionable Natural History about which so much has been written, or so many conflicting reports spread, as the Unicorn. We meet with tales of the Unicorn in nearly every country and every clime; indeed, a recent imaginative writer has described a race of unicorns inhabiting the planet Mars, the inhabitants of which happy globe are said to employ female Unicorns very much after the fashion of milch cows on earth. I should like to believe this story, for it certainly would be a conclusive proof that the Unicorn belongs to the earliest periods of planetary history; but the fact that the author claims to have visited Mars in person renders his whole description somewhat untrustworthy. Besides, spectral analysis has not yet advanced far enough to assign to each animal its appropriate lines in the spectrum: and until that is possible the existence of the Unicorn in Mars must be left open to doubt.

Classical writers were fond of describing the Unicorn, and the number of fables to which they seem to have given credence is almost unlimited. Yet Ctesias, who flourished some four hundred years before our era, as well as Aristotle and Pliny, evidently believed in the existence of the animal, the last two writers treating the subject with philosophic gravity and ponderous criticism. The description given by Ctesias runs as follows:—"The Unicorn hath the general appearance of a horse, but is somewhat larger; the head is of a dark red colour, but the whole body is white. The eyes are of a dark blue. In the centre of the forehead it hath one horn, some one and a half ells in length. This horn is

white at the base, black in the middle, and reddish towards the top. If the horn be hollowed out and used as a cup, it will be found most efficacious in severe cramps, epilepsy, and similar disorders of the system. In cases of poisoning, water which hath stood for some time in this horn will be found a most remarkable antidote. The animal is very shy, and runs so quickly that neither horses nor the swiftest stags are able to keep pace with it, and it is, therefore, never caught alive." Its legs are those of a stag; the tail like that of the lion. Aristotle does little else than quote the words of Ctesias, and adds only that it was known by the name of the "Indian Ass." Pliny slightly embellishes the account of the Grecian naturalist by presenting the Unicorn with a deer's head, the feet of an elephant, and the curly tail of a pig. Small wonder that King James I. chose this picturesque animal for one of the supporters of the royal arms, instead of the red dragon of Henry VII. The familiar couplet that tells how

"The Lion and the Unicorn were fighting for the crown;
The Lion beat the Unicorn all around the town"

must not be overlooked, although it refers merely to the wars between England and Scotland. For the Unicorn was one of the supporters of the royal arms of Scotland; Ariosto writes,

"That Lion placed two Unicorns between,
That rampant with a silver sword is seen,
Is for the King of Scotland's banner known."

As for the former geographical distribution of the Unicorn, ancient writers speak of its having been seen in Asia Minor, India, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Abyssinia. The Chinese, of course, place the home of the Unicorn in the Middle Kingdom. Obscure figures on some of the ancient Persepolitan inscriptions make it highly probable that the animal was known to the Ancient Persians. Indeed, as was remarked at the outset, there was hardly a people of antiquity without some story or legend of the Unicorn, although it is surprising that all unite in speaking of it as the rarest of quadrupeds, and as belonging to an earlier period of the world's history. It is always represented as very fleet, very strong, and very fierce. Some state that a wound inflicted by its horn is fatal, and this, *per contra*, may be the origin of the belief that the Unicorn, by dipping its horn into any liquid, could at once

detect whether it contained poison or not. Ottavio Strada, a famous artificer of the Middle Ages, made a cup for the Emperor Rudolph II., on the margin of which a unicorn stood with its horn pointed downwards, as if essaying the contents of the cup. Considerable doubt seems to have existed in the mind of early writers as to whether the Unicorn partook more of the horse than the deer, and not a few compromised by stating that while its legs were those of a stag, the head and body were equine. Aristotle, in especial, calls the Unicorn the "Indian Ass," evidently confounding it with some now extinct species of the onager. Pliny follows his example. The Chinese, however, ascribe a cervine form to the K'i-lin, as they call the Unicorn. But all alike state that it has a long tail, sometimes said to be that of a lion, then that of an ox. Until a quite recent date, many writers placed implicit confidence in the existence of the Unicorn. Van Zach, in describing the marvels of Central Africa, some 80 years ago, gives quite a lively description of the "genuine and only" Unicorn inhabiting that country. Not that he saw it himself, but, like the majority of those who have described the animal, based his theory on hearsay evidence alone. It would be useless to quote this passage and many others of a similar tenor, such as those of Smith and Lobo, the latter in particular giving some curious notes on the Abyssinian "variety" of the Unicorn; there are very few satisfactory data to be gleaned from them. The most important testimony of mediæval and modern writers will be quoted later on; but I may state at once that there is only one point in which all agree, and that is that the animal has only one horn or antler, in the centre of the forehead.

With regard to the Unicorn of the Old Testament, it is true that the Septuagint gives *monoceros*, or "one horn" in all the places where "unicorn" stands in the English version,—nine in all. But that by no means proves that the *re'âm* of the Old Testament was the pseudo-fabulous creature we understand under the term "unicorn." In fact, it was seen at a very early date that *re'âm* stood for an animal quite frequent in certain parts of Asia, which the Unicorn certainly was not. Recognising this difficulty, the early Fathers, like St. Jerome, Montanus, Aquila and others, rendered the term *re'âm* by "rhinoceros." This idea once adopted, it ran for centuries through the commentaries of Biblical

exegetists, and some writers, even at this late date, have the temerity to state that "there can be no doubt that the Unicorn of the Old Testament was a rhinoceros." And this in spite of the fact that we find in the Old Testament such a contradictory phrase as "the horns of a Unicorn." Fortunately, some exegetists preferred to employ their own good sense in solving the question rather than to follow painfully in the footsteps of those who wrote fifteen or sixteen hundred years ago. This is the age of scientific criticism, and I think it is a duty we owe to "the belief that is within us" to approach the Bible in this spirit. It has been purged already of much that is confused and contradictory, but its grand truths and grander prophecies stand out all the clearer for its subjection to scientific investigation. And so, among other matters, we now know that the *reām* was an animal of the bovine family. The decipherment of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions has conclusively settled this point. The *reām* was a wild ox and nothing more, and the reading "unicorn" should henceforward be definitely abolished. I shall adduce some proofs of this statement at the conclusion of this paper.

What is of more immediate interest to us is the story of the Unicorn, or K'i-lin, as found in Chinese books. Whether the animal ever really existed is a question that surely ought to find its solution in the annals of a people which is, confessedly, the oldest race extant; whose authentic history covers the marvelous period of nearly five thousand years; where science in all its branches, especially natural science, has kept much of the pristine simplicity, and perhaps illogical nature, which characterizes the learning of ancient nations now existing in name only. China is a rich mine of all information appertaining to the creeds and myths of past ages; a mine which, despite the encumbering soil of centuries of retarded development, has veins of pure ore.

So far as I have been enabled to trace the story of the Unicorn, there are few if any allusions to this animal to be found in the classic works of the Chinese. The K'i-lin was only seen once, and that by Confucius, two years before his death. The birth of the sage was also attended by marvelous manifestations, if we are to credit the ancient chroniclers. The K'i-lin also appeared to the mother of Confucius shortly before she gave birth to that illustrious scholar. I quote the

following description from Dr. Legge's "Life and Teachings of Confucius," p. 58 :—"One day Ching-tsae fell into a dreamy state, and saw five old men in the hall, who called themselves the essences of the five planets, and led an animal which looked like a small cow with one horn, and was covered with scales like a dragon. This creature knelt before Ching-tsae, and cast forth from its mouth a slip of gem, on which was the following inscription,—'The son of the essence of water shall succeed to the withering Chow, and be a throneless king.' Ching-tsae tied a piece of embroidered ribbon about its horn, and the vision disappeared." The K'i-lin is said to have been actually seen by the sage just two years before his death, *i.e.* 480 B.C. "In the spring of that year, a servant of Ki K'ang caught a K'i-lin on a hunting excursion of the duke, in the present district of Kia-tsiang. No person could tell what the strange animal was, and Confucius was called to look at it. He at once knew it to be a *lin*, and the legend-writers say that it bore on one of its horns (so Dr. Legge, but I suspect that the learned sinologue intended to write 'on its horn') the piece of ribbon which his mother had attached to the one that appeared to her before his birth. According to the chronicle of Kung-yang, Confucius was profoundly affected. He cried out, 'For whom have you come? For whom have you come?' His tears flowed freely, and he added, 'The course of my doctrines is run.'"

It is evident from these two passages that the K'ilin was, even in the days of Confucius, *i.e.* twenty-three hundred years ago, deemed a supernatural animal; and when the Chinese speak of an animal as supernatural it is safe to assume that the creature in question is either an extinct animal belonging to the prehistoric ages,—tales of which have been handed down from generation to generation—or that it is a mere fabric of the brain, and had its origin in exaggerated tales of some quadruped or biped which, as like as not, may be living at the present day. In the first category we may put the Unicorn, the Roc, and perhaps the Dragon; in the latter, the phoenix and its congeners. But it should not surprise us overmuch to find that there is really some excuse for even the most marvelous of animal myths. Suppose the people of the United States had lived such isolated lives as never to have seen, or even heard of, an elephant.

Now let an American refind the famous elephant-shaped pipe which was dug, some years ago, out of an ancient mound in Illinois. Can any one imagine that the lucky finder would do aught but conclude that the clay figure represented some fabulous and wholly irrecognisable animal? The same train of reasoning holds good with regard to the great elephant-shaped mound. There are certainly, outside of Barnum's and a few other menageries, no elephants in the United States at present; but there must have been once upon a time, or else the aboriginal inhabitants came from a land where elephants were frequent and well known. I am supposing an extreme case, it is true, but the deduction holds good, nevertheless. Who would believe that the strange, uncouth figures traced on ancient knives and harpoons found in Northern Europe represented once-living animals, if skeletons of the mammoth had not been discovered? Who would credit the wild tales of a gigantic bird double, aye, thrice the size of an ostrich, if the fossil egg of the *Aepyornis* of Madagascar had not been discovered, and deposited in the British Museum? No; in all these stories which wise men have been wont to condemn as fables and myths there is something more than a mere grain of truth. History has told us many strange and apparently incredible stories, yet geology has given us absolute proof of the one-time existence of animal forms such as we could not even have conceived of.

It is in this spirit that we should approach the descriptions of the K'i-lin or Kirin—to use the Japanese pronunciation—as found in the two famous encyclopædias, the *San Sai Dzuyé* and *Wa Kan San Sai Dzuyé*. The greater part sounds like arrant nonsense, but it remains to be seen whether they contain any truth or not. The former runs as follows:—"In the book of ceremony written by Ta-tai it is said that there are three hundred and sixty kinds of animals (lit. 'insects'), but the K'i-lin is the chief. In the Shwo Wên it is said, 'The male is called K'i, and the female Lin.' The cry of the male is called *Yiu-shing* (lit. 'accompanying sages on a journey'); the cry of the female is called *Kwai-ho* (lit. 'restoration of peace'). The spring cry of this animal is called *Fu-yu* (lit. 'supporting youth'); in autumn they cry *Yang-chui* (lit. 'nourishing and comforting'). In the *Chun Chün Kai Ching Fu* there is a passage which states that "if kings never killed pregnant animals nor destroyed eggs, then the K'i-lin would make its

appearance in the fields beyond the city walls." Sun-tse said, "If rulers were fond of living and disliked death, the K'i-lin would appear in the glade." Some one else has said, "The *Lin* has a horn, but the *Ki*, though like the *Lin*, has none." Sung-chün says that the K'i-lin is of a bluish-yellow colour. Its body is like that of a young deer; its tail that of an ox; its feet (hoofs) those of a horse. It has only one horn (antler), the point of which is fleshy." The second account opens with a description taken from the *Pên-tsao Kang-mu*, or *Hon-dzo Ko-moku*:—"It is related in the *Pun-kang* that the K'i-lin is an animal of favorable omen. The body is like that of a young deer, its tail like that of an ox, and its feet similar to those of the horse. It has five different colours, but the colour of the under part of its abdomen is always yellow. The K'i-lin stands twelve feet high, and has round hoofs. There is a horn (in the centre of its forehead), the tip of which is fleshy. Its voice harmonizes with the sound of bells and chimes of bells. Its steps are regular. Before it journeys it chooses a certain direction, and (never) settles down (before) when it feels safe. The K'i-lin never treads upon any living creature, nor will it injure growing herbage. It is not gregarious, and is never found in the company of other animals. It never falls into a pit, and no one can catch it with a net. The K'i-lin makes its appearance only when a benevolent King sits upon the throne."

"In the *Kwang-po Wu-chi*"—a philosophical work—"it is said, 'The green *Lin* is called *lung-ku*; the red *Lin* is called *Yen-chu* (lit. 'fiery horse'); the white, *Lau-ming* ('dispenser of darkness,'); the black, *Chiao-twan*; and the yellow *Lin* is finally called *K'i-lin*. The black *Lin* is the swiftest of animals, and can traverse 1,800 *li* (miles) a day.'

"In the *Wu-tsa-chu* it is said, 'Both the *Fung-hwang* (phoenix) and the K'i-lin are spontaneously generated. They are exceedingly rare, and never appear except in the reign of royal prosperity. The dragon is also a divine animal, but it is seen more frequently than the K'i-lin.'

"According to Lui Ying-fu, the female is called *K'i* and the male *Lin*; in all other points this writer agrees with the *San-tsai Tu-hui*. May not this encyclopaedia be at fault?"

It is difficult to condense this two descriptions into anything like a sensible form. The height given—twelve feet—is evidently incorrect, or else the foot-measure must have been smaller than it is at present;

for the Unicorn that appear to the mother of Confucius was only as large as a "small cow." The division into *K'i* and *Lin* is evidently based on the pet theory of Chinese mystics and cosmogonists—the universal prevalence of the *yang* and *yin*, or male and female principles of creation. That the animal has five colours is another quaint statement; but it must be remembered that this is in strict accordance with Chinese ideas of supernatural beauty, for they say the same of the Phoenix. The classification of the *Lin* into green, red, white, black, and yellow animals, has a similar origin. It is singular, to say the least, that Aristotle relates a similar legend in his *Memorabilia* (chap. 12). "In the land of the Gelones, a Scythian tribe," he writes, "there is an animal known as the *Tarand*, which is extremely rare. It has the remarkable property of changing the colour of its hairs in accordance with the colour of the place in which it stays. Hence it is most difficult to trap, as it always assumes the shade of the trees or rocks in its immediate vicinity." "It is truly remarkable," continues Aristotle, "that this animal should be able to change the colour of its hairs, as other animals, like the chameleon and polyp, change only the colour of their skins. This animal is about as large as an ox, and has the head of a deer." Perhaps it is just as well not to attempt any etymological comparison between the terms *Tarand* and *K'ilin*, although it is well known that *t* often replaces *k* in cognate languages, while *r* still more frequently stands for *l*. At all events, it is interesting to note that the many-coloured *K'i-lin* may have had a relative in Scythia, once upon a time, albeit the actual existence of that relative can be questioned with justice. By far the most important part of the Chinese description is that which relates to the external appearance of the Unicorn: "the body of a deer, tail of an ox, and feet of a horse." Strange to say, the illustrations which accompany the two accounts are not at all what one would expect. As Williams (*Syllabic Dictionary*, p. 344) remarks, Chinese pictures of the Unicorn, as a rule, bear a strong resemblance to a "scaly, piebald horse," with one horn starting out from the centre of the forehead.

So far the Chinese accounts of the Unicorn. The question now arises: Did such an animal really ever exist; and if so, where? I think, in the face of the testimony that can be adduced, that we may safely

conclude that a one-horned animal, something like a deer in general appearance, now extinct, did once inhabit the high plains of Central Asia, and perhaps certain parts of Africa as well. The African gnu is quite as remarkable an animal in its way, and the same may be said of the *Cervus Davidianus* of Northern China. Abu Seid and El Masudi speak of having not only seen but even eaten the Unicorn,—this was in the thirteenth century of our era. Yet the description they give of the *boshan* or *noshan* plainly shows that they are speaking of the rhinoceros. But what can be said against the statements of Lodewijk Wartmann, who visited Mecca in the fifteenth century? “On one side of the great mosque,” he writes, “there was a small enclosure in which were two living unicorns. The larger of the two closely resembled a horse of thirty months. In the centre of its forehead was a black horn, some three ells in length. The second was much smaller and younger, being about the size of a yearling foal. Its colour was dark brown; the head like that of a deer, the neck being rather short, and covered with a scanty mane. The legs were as slim and graceful as those of a stag, while the hoofs of the fore-feet were split after the fashion of an ox. The hinder hoofs were covered with a thick growth of hair. Both Unicorns were quite untamed, yet of a very gentle nature. They were sent to Mecca by the King of Ethiopia as a great rarity, in order to cement his friendship with the Sultan.” There is nothing unnatural in this description, and certainly no attempt to make the animal appear more wonderful than it really was. True, Aldrovandus says that other travellers saw these strange animals, and declared them to be nothing but rhinoceros. But then Aldrovandus was inclined to sneer at the whole of Hartmann’s book, and was necessarily biassed in all he wrote. In our own century, travellers have several times declared that they had either seen or heard of Unicorns still extant. Captain Lotter, an Englishman, wrote from Nepal, in 1820, that many persons of unquestionable veracity had described an animal that they had met with, known as the *to-po*, and that their descriptions tallied exactly with the accounts of the Unicorn given by earlier writers. The *Quarterly Review* took the matter up, and to all intents and purposes settled the vexed question by assuming that the Unicorn did exist, or had once existed, in the plains of Thibet. Harris, who visited South

Africa in the earlier part of the century, states that the *Oryx Capensis*, the Cape Antelope, was frequently mistaken for a Unicorn on account of its habit of shedding one antler some time before the other. But Russoger ("Reisen in Europa, Asien und Afrika," Vol. II., p. 474, Stuttgart, 1843), who spent some time in Africa, firmly believed in the existence of the Unicorn. He says that the Arabs, the Nubians, and most of the negroid tribes have tales of the Unicorn, and he continues: "I hold it for mere supercilious criticism when scientists declare that the Unicorn is an impossible animal; if no one had ever seen the elephant, the giraffe and the ostrich they would say the same of these strange creatures." Katte, who travelled in Abyssinia in 1838, states that so soon as the people of that country saw a woodcut of a Unicorn they declared that an animal of that kind had been quite common in Abyssinia in former days; "that it was something like the wild ass in appearance, greyish brown, very fleet, and very shy.

Evidently the Unicorn is now extinct, and the important fact that no skeleton of this animal has hitherto been discovered has thrown great doubt on all accounts of its having been both seen and kept in captivity. But I do not consider this a conclusive proof. Leibnitz did, it is true, reconstruct the skeleton of a painfully impossible Unicorn out of some tertiary remains found near the Zeunikerburg, in the vicinity of Magdeburg. But the creation of his lively imagination would have been totally incapable of locomotion either on land or in the water. Thibet, that mysterious Eldorado of the Esoteric Buddhists, may yet yield the solution of the problem.

To return to the Chinese account of the K'i-lin, it will be seen that it agrees in all essential points with the descriptions furnished by other nations. There is one fact, however, which must not be overlooked, and that is that Chinese writers have evidently confounded the K'i-lin with the *Lu*, or deer. In an ancient copy of the *Erh-ya* in my possession, there is a woodcut of an animal called the *Lu*, but the picture represents nothing more or less than a veritable Unicorn. Beside the *Lu*, there is still another quadruped which has been confounded with the Unicorn; this is the *Mi-lu*, the famous "tailed deer" of the Imperial hunting-grounds, discovered by Père David, and described by Milne-Edwards under the style of *Cervus (Elaphurus)*

Davidianus. Compare the following account of this deer—which I take from Von Möllendorff's excellent paper on the "Vertebrata of Chihli"—with the description of the K'i-lin given in the *San-sai Tu-hui*:—"The thick hair is of pale yellowish brown and grey colour, darker on the back, and lighter on the underparts. The feet, rather large and clumsy in proportion to the slender legs, show comparatively small hoofs . . . which somewhat resemble those of the reindeer. The tail is some 50 centimètres long, and like that of the donkey, tasselled at the end. . . The most characteristic difference from the other species of deer is to be observed in the antlers of the buck. From a very thick base a straight stem rises for about half a foot in length, and then divides into two branches; a very long and strong one stretches backwards; the other, the main branch, rises almost perpendicularly, but is very sinuous, and terminates in a fork . . ." Père David was so much struck by the resemblance of this animal to the famous *Tarand* of Aristotle that he at first named it *Cervus tarandoides*. The fact that the K'i-lin and Milu have been mistaken for each other by Chinese writers is still more evident from the following passage, taken from the Pên-tsao Kang-mu: "The *Mi* belongs to the tribe of the deer; the male has horns. The deer (*Lu*) is fond of the mountains; it belongs to the *yang* (male principle), and therefore sheds its horns in summer. The *Mi* belongs to the *yin* (female principle), and so sheds the horns in winter; it is fond of marshy localities. The *Mi* is like the *Lu*, but its colour is grey (lit. 'green-black'); it is as large as a small ox, and its hoofs are fleshy," etc. The *San-sai Tu-hui*, in describing this animal, gives an entirely fictitious picture of the *Mi*, with one stumpy horn in the centre of the forehead. "The *Mi*," says this work, "is a water animal; its colour is greyish, and its hoofs are fleshy." Beside all this, the common Chinese name for *Cervus Davidianus* is 四不像, i.e. the animal of "four dissimilar attributes," for it is popularly believed to have the head of a deer, the neck of a camel, the feet of a cow, and the tail of a mule. And now it must be remembered that this remarkable deer is at present confined to the Imperial hunting-grounds, south of Peking. "Notwithstanding all the explorations lately made in Asia," says Von Möllendorff, "no trace of it has been found; and although there are regions in Central Asia which have not yet been investigated

by naturalists, still a species of deer of such striking appearance could not have failed to attract the notice even of unprofessional travellers. The present habits of the *Elaphurus* show sufficiently that it is an animal of the steppes, and not, like other deer, of the mountain forests." It is thus quite evident that *Cervus Davidianus* is dying out, and will probably, in a few tens of years, cease to be included in the catalogue of living species.

In summing up the foregoing, one might ask whether it is not highly probable that the Milu has given origin to the story of the Unicorn, or K'i-lin, in China? It is possible, but I do not believe it probable. On the contrary, the very existence of so strange an animal as *Cervus Davidianus* seems rather to hint at the former existence of a one-horned, deer-like creature, closely related to the Milu, and very much like it in general appearance. The K'i-lin became extinct in China many centuries ago, but perhaps not so very long since in Central Asia. And so the Chinese gradually confounded the legendary account of the K'i-lin, which had been handed down from father to son, with the still extant and similar looking Milu. That the Milu was once quite common in China is plainly shown by references made to it in the works of Mencius, Ch'un-ts'en, and in the Li-ki. "The King of Liang," says Mencius, "went and stood by a pond, and looking around at the wild geese and Milu said," etc.¹ Again, "There was a park of four square li, and he who killed a Milu in it was held guilty of the same crime as if he had killed a man."² In the 17th year of Duke Chwang, or B.C. 675, one commentator states that the Milu appeared in such immense numbers "as to be a veritable plague."

A word in conclusion with regard to the Biblical Unicorn. As has already been stated, it is now affirmed that the *re'üm* of the old Testament was nothing but a wild ox, the *Bos urus* of naturalists, which is still to be found in the Caucasus. Some biblical exegetists cling to the idea that the antelope, *Oryx leucoryx*, is to be understood, but I think that the Assyrian inscriptions have definitely settled the question. Assurnasirhabal is often depicted hunting the wild ox. The same king states in his great Monolith Inscription, Col. iii., lines 48-49: *ina jumí*

¹ Mencius, book i., pt. i., ch. ii.

² Ibid, book i., pt. ii., ch. ii.

suva L. rīma-ni dannūti ina nīr ammati sa nahar Buratti aduk ; VIII. rīmi baltūti ina kati asbat, *i.e.*, "In those days I slew fifty immense *reām* on the opposite bank of the Euphrates ; I caught eight living *reām* with my own hand." In both cases the word *rīmi* or *rīmāni* is preceded by the descriptive complement GUT, pronounced *alpu* in the Assyrian tongue, and which signified that the word following denoted an animal belonging to the bovine family. And as Assurnasirhabal is depicted chasing and capturing wild oxen, the conclusion can only be that *rīmu* stood for the wild ox. There are a number of other inscriptions in which the same animal is referred to, and in which their *horns* and hides are spoken of as possessing considerable value. For instance, in the Cylinder Inscription of Tiglath Pileser I, we find the following important passage (Col. VI., lines 70, seqq) : X. AM.SI. puhali dannūti ina mat Harrani u Sidi nahar Habur lū aduk ; IV. AM.SI. baltūti lu usabitta, maski-sunu, KA.-sunu itti AM.SI. baltūti ana irya Asur ubla, *i.e.* "Ten immense AM.SI. bulls I slew in the land of Harrah, on the banks of the river Chabor ; I caught four living AM.SI., their skins and their horns I took back together with the living AM.SI. to my capital city, Asur." The two ideograms AM.SI. are readily decipherable ; in the first place AM stands for *rīmu*, according to the syllabaries ; and SI means "horned" ; AM.SI. therefore means nothing but "horned wild oxen." Rawlinson, the learned author of the "Five Great Monarchies" (Vol. i., p. 512, 2nd ed.) says, "It is not quite certain what exact species of animal is sought to be expressed by the representations upon the sculptures ; but, on the whole, it is perhaps most probable that the Aurochs or European bison—*Bos urus*—is the beast intended." It should also not be forgotten that Aristotle mentions a species of buffalo as occurring in certain parts of Asia Minor, notably Arachosia.

THE SO-CALLED "ROOT" IN JAPANESE VERBS.

(A POINT OF GRAMMATICAL TERMINOLOGY.)

BY BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN.

[Read 17th June, 1885.]

It has become the custom among students of Japanese to apply the name of "Root" to that form of the Verb which is used in suspended clauses, and to which the termination of the Past Participle, as of several other verbal forms, is suffixed. Thus *ari*, *tabe*, *ochi*, *aratamari*, *aratame*, *aratameseshime*, are called the "Roots" of the Verbs *aru*, *taberu*, *ochiru*, *aratamaru*, *aratameru*, and *aratameseshimeru*. The misnomer is one of long standing, occurring as it does both in Rodriguez and in Hoffmann. Mr. Aston does indeed, on the very first page of his "Grammar of the Japanese Written Language," more or less expressly recognize the true state of the case; and throughout his treatment of the Verb he mostly designates the form in question by the term "Adverbial Form." But having in his Colloquial Grammar, and even to some extent in his Grammar of the Written Language, given the sanction of his name to the concomitant use of the term "Root," later writers have adopted it exclusively, to the great confusion of true grammatical ideas. The misnomer seems to have arisen from two circumstances. One is that this form of the Verb, though not simpler than several others, is yet among the simplest, and is used vaguely to represent various Moods and Tenses. The second circumstance is that it corresponds in compounds to the true "Root," or as it might better be called "Stem," of Adjectives. The further consideration that it corresponds likewise to the Adverbial Form of Adjectives,—e.g. to *yoku* and *nagaku* as well as to *yo* and *naga*,—seems to have been forgotten. Whatever may be

thought of the *origin* of Roots, the *definition* of a Root is that it is the simplest form to which a word can be reduced when stripped of all its terminations,—that form which, being itself invariable, serves as the trunk from which all the branches diverge. To this may be added that, in the Altaic as in the Aryan languages, the Verbal Root is not itself in use as a part of speech. It never appears except followed by some suffix. Now such Japanese words as *ari*, *tabe*, *ochi*, *aratamari*, *aratame*, and *aratameseshime* are neither simple nor unalterable, nor are all the terminations suffixed to them. On comparing the first three with *aru*, *are*, *aran*, *aru-beshi*, *tabu*, *otsu*, *otosu*, and all the other conjugational forms, we find that the so-called "Root" is but one of a whole family of inflections. *Ar*, *tab*, and *ot* (for *ochi* represents an older *oti*) stand out at once as more radical forms. Similarly with regard to grammatical usage. Though little heard in modern speech, the so-called "Root" in the written language corresponds as to function with the Past Participle of the colloquial, that is to say that it represents at the end of every subordinate clause the Tense and Mood of the final Verb of the sentence. It is therefore not a "Root" either in form or in function. I would propose to substitute for the term "Root" as applied to such words as *ari*, *tabe*, *ochi*, *aratamari*, *aratame*, *aratameseshime*, etc., either the term Adverbial Form used in some places by Mr. Aston, or better still the term "Indefinite Form," which describes its most usual function in the written language, that, namely, of making the meaning indefinite, so far as Mood and Tense are concerned, at the end of subordinate clauses.¹ Such forms as *ar*, *tab*, *ot*, *aratamar*, *aratam*, *aratameseshin*, etc., I should propose to call "Stems," because to them all the Terminations are added.

Japanese Roots, properly so-called, have scarcely been studied as yet. In some cases they would seem to coincide with the "Stems" of Verbs. Thus *sam*, the Stem of *samuru*, "to grow cool," reappears in the Adjective *samuki*, "cold"; *ut*, the Stem of *utsu*, "to beat," reappears in *uta*, "a song" (to which people beat time), and in the secondary

¹In the first draft of this paper, which was that actually read before the Society, I had suggested the term "Suspended Form." For "Indefinite Form," which is a decided improvement, I am indebted to a private communication from Mr. Ernest Satow.

Verb *utau*, "to sing." But a very little digging beneath the surface brings to light the fact that these simple cases are rare. Thus a comparison with the older language shows us that *taberu*, "to eat," though a Verb representing quite a primary idea, is not a primary Verb. It is a corruption of the Honorific *tamawaru*, "to be given something by a superior." There are four or five words of kindred meaning beginning with *tab* or *tam*, such as *tabu*, having the same meaning as *tamawaru*; *tama*, "a precious stone," etc., and it would seem as if *tam* were the most original form, or what we may call the Root. *Aratamaru*, the Stem of *aratamaru*, "to become new," is simply *aratam*, the Stem of *aratameru*, "to renew," plus the Stem of *aru*, "to be." The formation of Secondary Verbs in this manner is quite common. But *aratam* itself has a shorter cognate form in *arata*, "new," with which *atara*, "regrettable or precious" (whence *atarashiki*, "new"), seems to be connected. Had we nothing beyond these two Adjectives, it would be hard to say which is a metathesis of the other. But while *atara* stands almost alone, *arata* reappears in numerous compounds under the form of *ara*, a word having something of the meaning of "new," but mostly used in the meaning of "rough," as in *ara-gome*, "rough (i.e. new) rice," "rice not yet washed." "New" and "rough" are naturally interchangeable ideas; and it is therefore not surprising to find Verbs such as *areru*, "to be rough," *arasu*, "to ravage," and a Substantive such as *arashi*, "a tempest," all containing the same element. We seem therefore to arrive at a Root sounded *ar* and signifying "rough" as the prototype of all these words expressive of roughness, or preciousness. To connect this *ar* signifying "roughness" with *ar*, the Stem of *aru*, "to be," would be dangerous. There is nothing to show that the two are related.

So far the remarks with which I venture to trouble the Society. I shall be glad if they incidentally help to draw the attention of other students to an unexplored field lying at their very door. What is wanted for the cultivation of this field is a knowledge of old Japanese, and of such kindred languages as Korean and Manchu. Meantime let us not misapply the simple and well-understood term "Root" to conjugational forms of five or even seven syllables, such as *aratamari* and *aratame-shime*.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. J. C. Hall, in commenting on the value of the suggestions made in the paper, thought the author had dealt a little hardly with Mr. Aston, whose exposition of the grammatical functions of the "Root" left nothing to be desired. At the same time, he agreed with Mr. Chamberlain that it was one of the many misnomers in which Grammar abounds. He instanced the Past Participle as another which he was sorry had not been treated as the Root had been.

Mr. F. W. Eastlake pointed out some possible similarities in the use of the Japanese Root and certain Semitic forms of construction.

The President, in thanking Mr. Chamberlain for his contribution, noted that Mr. Hall's criticisms might well take the form of an independent paper.

LEPIDOPTERA IDENTICAL JAPAN AND
GREAT BRITAIN.

By H. PRYER.

[Read June 17, 1885.]

Rhopalocera.

- 1 *Papilio machaon*=*hippocrates*.
- 2 *Pieris napi*=*melete* and *megamera*.
- 3 *Aporia crataegi*.
- 4 *Pieris rapæ*=*crucivora*.
- 5 *Lencophasia sinapis*=*amurensis*.
- 6 *Rhodocera rhamni*.
- 7 *Colias hyale*=*simoda* etc.
- 8 *Polyommatus phlæas*=*chinensis*.
- 9 *Strymon w-album*.
- 10 *Lycæna bætica*.
- 11 " *argus*.
- 12 " *ægon*=*micrargus*.
- 13 " *argiolus*=*ladonides*.
- 14 *Limenitis sibilla*.
- 15 *Vanessa c-album*=*hamigera*.
- 16 " *urticæ*=*butleri*.
- 17 " *cardui*.
- 18 " *io*.
- 19 " *polychloras* ?
- 20 " *antiopa*.
- 21 *Melitia athalia*=*niphona*.

- 22 *Argynnis aglaia*=*fortuna*.
- 23 " *adippe*=*pallescens*.
- 24 " *paphia*=*paphioides*.
- 25 *Hesperia sylvanus*=*herculea*.

Sphingina.

- 26 *Smerinthus ocellatus*=*planus*.
- 27 *Smerinthus tilia*.
- 28 *Deilephila galii*.
- 29 *Chærocampa elpenor*=*lucasi*.
- 30 *Macroglossa stellatarum*.

Bombycina.

- 31 *Phragmataecia arundinis*.
- 32 *Zeuzera æsculi*=*leuconotum* ?
- 33 *Hepialus hectus*.
- 34 *Chloephora quercana*=*sylpha*.
- 35 " *prasinana*.
- 36 *Lithosia aureola*.
- 37 *Collita griseola*.
- 38 *Pelosia muscerda*.
- 39 *Lithosia quadra*=*dives*.
- 40 *Enthemonia russula*.
- 41 *Arctia caja*=*phæosoma*.
- 42 *Spilosoma menthastri*.
- 43 *Porthesia auriflua*.
- 44 *Lælia cænosa*.
- 45 *Stilpnotia salicis*.
- 46 *Porthetria dispar*=*japonica*.
- 47 *Lymantria monarcha*.
- 48 *Clisiocampa neustria*.=*testacea*.
- 49 *Lassiocampa illicifolia*.
- 50 " *quercifolia*.
- 51 *Diceranura vinula*=*felina*.
- 52 " *furecula* ?=*lanigera*.
- 53 " *bifida* ?= "

- 54 *Stauropus fagi*=*persimilis*.
- 55 *Clostera anachoreta*.
- 56 *Notodonta bicolora*.

Geometrina.

- 57 *Epione advenaria*.
- 58 *Eurymene dolobraria*.
- 59 *Pericallia syringaria*.
- 60 *Angerona prunaria*.
- 61 *Selenia illustraria*.
- 62 *Ennomos angularia*?
- 63 *Boarmia abietaria*?
- 64 *Geometra papilionaria*.
- 65 *Thalera thymiaria*.
- 66 *Hyria auroraria*=*sinicata*.
- 67 *Eupisteria heparata*.
- 68 *Asthena candidata*=*coreulina*.
- 69 *Acidalia strigilata*.
- 70 *Corycia taminata*.
- 71 " *temerata*.
- 72 *Timandra amataria*.
- 73 *Macaria notata*.
- 74 *Strenia clathrata*.
- 75 *Panagra petrarum*?
- 76 *Lomaspilis marginata*=*opis*.
- 77 *Abraxas grossulariata*=*conspureata*.
- 78 *Hybernia leucophearia*=*obliquaria* and *dira*.
- 79 *Melanthia albicillata*=*casta*.
- 80 " *rubiginata*.
- 81 *Melanippe procellata*=*inquinata*.
- 82 *Camptogramma fluviata*.
- 83 *Scotosia certata*.
- 84 *Cidaria corylata*.
- 85 " *russata*.
- 86 *Anaitis plagiata*.

Noctuities.

- 87 *Thyatira batis*.
- 88 *Gonophora derasa*=*derasoides*.
- 89 *Acronycta psi*.
- 90 " *alni*.
- 91 " *rumicis*.
- 92 *Dipthera orion*.
- 93 *Leucania turca*.
- 94 " *extranea*=*nauseana*.
- 95 *Axylia putris*.
- 96 *Mamestra brassica*.
- 97 " *persicariæ*.
- 98 *Agrotis suffusa*.
- 99 " *segetum*.
- 100 " *præcox*.
- 101 *Noctua plecta*.
- 102 *Panolis piniperda*.
- 103 *Tæniocampa gothica*=*pallascens*.
- 104 " *munda*.
- 105 *Dasyampa rubiginea*=*formax*.
- 106 *Cosmia affinis*.
- 107 *Dianthesia cucubali*.
- 108 *Miselia oxycanthe*=*cinerea*.
- 109 *Euplexia lucipara*.
- 110 *Hadena atriplicis*=*gnoma*.
- 111 *Calocampa exoleta*=*fumosa*.
- 112 *Heliothis marginata*.
- 113 " *armigera*.
- 114 " *dipsacia*=*adaucta*.
- 115 *Agrophila sulphuralis*.
- 116 *Erastria venustula*=*noloides*.
- 117 " *fuscula*.
- 118 *Plusia gamma*.
- 119 " *festuæ*.
- 120 *Scoliopteryx libatrix*.

121 *Catocala sponsa*=*dula*.

122 " *nupta*.

123 *Euclidia glyphica*=*consors*.

It will be noticed that many of the species given in the foregoing list have been described as distinct from those found in Great Britain; against these I have placed the names by which they have been distinguished. While being perfectly open to admit some few may eventually prove, on more thorough investigation, to really merit being ranked as distinct species, I am certain that the majority of these names will have to be sunk as mere synonyms; I have little hesitation in dismissing them, as I can not see that any useful purpose is attained by their retention.

It may not be out of place to consider here, what the object of systematic classification is: the main point to be borne in mind is undoubtedly *utility*, to enable the student of natural history to readily identify any species obtained and to ascertain speedily its proper place in the system of nature; the subject is we know a vast one, owing to the immense number of different forms of life inhabiting this world, and instead of complicating the matter by creating an innumerable number of unnecessary species and genera, the opposite course should be pursued and every effort should be made to reduce the mechanical part of the work and to detect and ascertain the geographical distribution of the different forms, or I may say disguises, which an individual species is forced, in the struggle for existence, to assume, and secondly to trace the '*wherefore*' of these disguises, which may depend upon temperature, mimicry as a protection against general enemies, influence of the food-plant, locality, migrations voluntary and forced, etc.

This constitutes true scientific inquiry, and only by such methods can we gain a proper insight into the wonderful problems of nature which really form the study of natural history.

No purpose, either of utility or other help to scientific inquiry or exactness, is served by this indiscriminate multiplication of species, which only excite ridicule, and pity that so much valuable time has been wasted.

To illustrate the fallacious nature of these synonyms I will take the first two species mentioned in the list, *Papilio machaon*=*hippocrates*, and *Pieris napi*=*melete* and *megamera*.

At first sight, no insects, in the same genus could appear to be more unlike than *machaon* and *hippocrates*, or *napi* and *melete*. *Machaon* is, roughly speaking, a yellow butterfly with well defined black markings, and the minimum size is two and a half inches. *Hippocrates* is a darkly suffused insect, the yellow being greatly obscured, sometimes almost wholly so; the maximum size is five and a quarter inches. *Napi* is a white butterfly, with strongly marked green veins on the underside and little black on the upper; the minimum size is one inch and three-quarters. *Melete* has, generally, more black on the upper side, and the characteristic green veins of *napi* absent on the under side; the maximum size is two inches and three-quarters. I have however positively proved by breeding, that *machaon* is the early spring temperature form of *hippocrates*, and that *napi* is the early spring temperature form of *melete*, and that it is temperature alone that causes these extraordinary changes.

I would also reproach the 'species makers' on another point: to attempt to convince them I fear is a hopeless task. I believe that these 'species' have largely been created from an indolent desire to escape the difficulty of properly investigating whether the differences, fancied or real, which may exist in the specimen they have under examination, are really constant; without proper consideration being given concerning the surrounding conditions of insect life, which results in a 'new species' being hastily blazoned forth to the confusion of subsequent investigators. I have found some Japanese insects, the larva of which are quite different from British ones, but the imago is the same in both countries; and therefore to carry the 'species mania' to its logical conclusion, the larva should receive a different name from the perfect insect!

As a basis for calculation I give the total number of species of both countries, together with those I believe identical: with Great Britain, 769; Japan, 1110; common to both, 128.

These figures give us nearly 16 per cent of the English Macro Lepidoptera (excluding Pyralidina, which I have not touched upon), common to Japan.

The climatical conditions of these two countries are very different. In Japan we have a long and dry winter. In Great Britain the winter

is long and not so severe, and it is moist instead of dry. We do not there get the same great and sudden changes which affect the constitutions of all living beings inhabiting this country.

The summer here is almost tropical for a short time, and the temperature at all times varies perhaps more than any other country in the world having the same geographical and geological peculiarities.

The geological formation,—high, cold, central mountain chains bordered by hot level plains, with at all times great temperature fluctuations everywhere,—explains the large number of striking temperature forms found here, and is also the reason of so many species of diverse habits being able to exist in the same area.

Having found so many identical species, at first sight there appears to be no particular reason why the majority of the British Lepidoptera should not occur here; this is, however, not probable, this country being already occupied by a large number of peculiar species, and we have here a great number of what I term 'general enemies,' rendering the struggle for existence exceptionally severe.

The first point to be noticed is the enormous distance concerned, without much alteration in many cases and none in the slightest with many of the species, extending over 140 degrees or nearly half the world. Another point is the apparently *chance* manner in which identical species occur here. The butterflies are as yet far in excess, proportionally, of any other group; this, however, arises from the fact of more attention having been given to collecting them, and they have been studied with greater attention than any other group. In the moths we have a large number of identical species which do not appear to possess any particular advantage, either in powers of locomotion, habits or form, and we are forced to abandon any astonishment at the fact of the enormous distance concerned. We must look more to the conditions of existence as affecting each particular species. Why, for instance, should such a frail insect as *Corycia taminata* have been able to surmount the difficulties successfully which beset its existence on this long journey? In the first place its food plant, the cherry, is common to both countries, and it receives protection from 'general enemies' by its white coloration in the imago (which is rather sluggish) and green colour in the larva. A dragon fly will at once seize a white

insect when on the wing, but will pass close to the same insect without notice when it is settled. I have seen a wasp (*Polistes*) search for a green larva, whose presence it had detected by its sense of smell, and actually walk over it, but it was not until the larva moved that it was seized and devoured.

Concealment as obtained by mimicry is *the greatest* protection against 'general enemies,' but does not protect against 'special enemies.' I will give an instance of this: during the past season my attention was drawn to observe the *Aventiadae*, the larva of which feed on lichen growing on the trunks of trees; they cover themselves with minute particles of the plant and hide in the crevices of the bark, making a pendant cocoon of lichen to resemble a loose flake of the same. Both cocoon and larva are calculated to deceive a bird or other 'general enemy,' but the ichneumon which *specially* preys on the species, selects without hesitation the cocoon and deposits its eggs therein.

The time of appearance of the perfect insect is another very important point, and as far as I have been able to observe, the presence of 'general enemies' largely determines the time of their appearance. Many insects, as the *Hybernidae*, feed up in the spring, but allow the whole summer to pass in the pupa state; the imago only appears in the coldest winter months. The reason is obvious: the male is a freely flying insect, the females being apterous or semi-apterous, and the males would be speedily exterminated by dragon flies, swallows, etc. Again, robust *Noctua*, as the *Tæniocampa*, which are always buzzing about the trees, only appear in the early spring; when spiders are small they can then force their way through the frail nets spread on every branch, but they disappear when the spiders grow large.

The discovery of species identical with those of Great Britain has always been to me one of the most interesting facts in the study of Insects in this country, and each new addition has added to the series of unexpected surprises.

son

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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